

THE MAKERS OF BRITISH INDIA



W. H. DAVENPORT ADAMS.

WITH MAP & ILLUSTRATIONS.



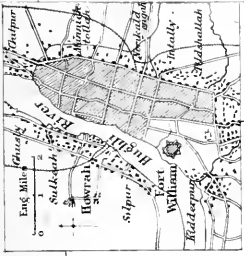
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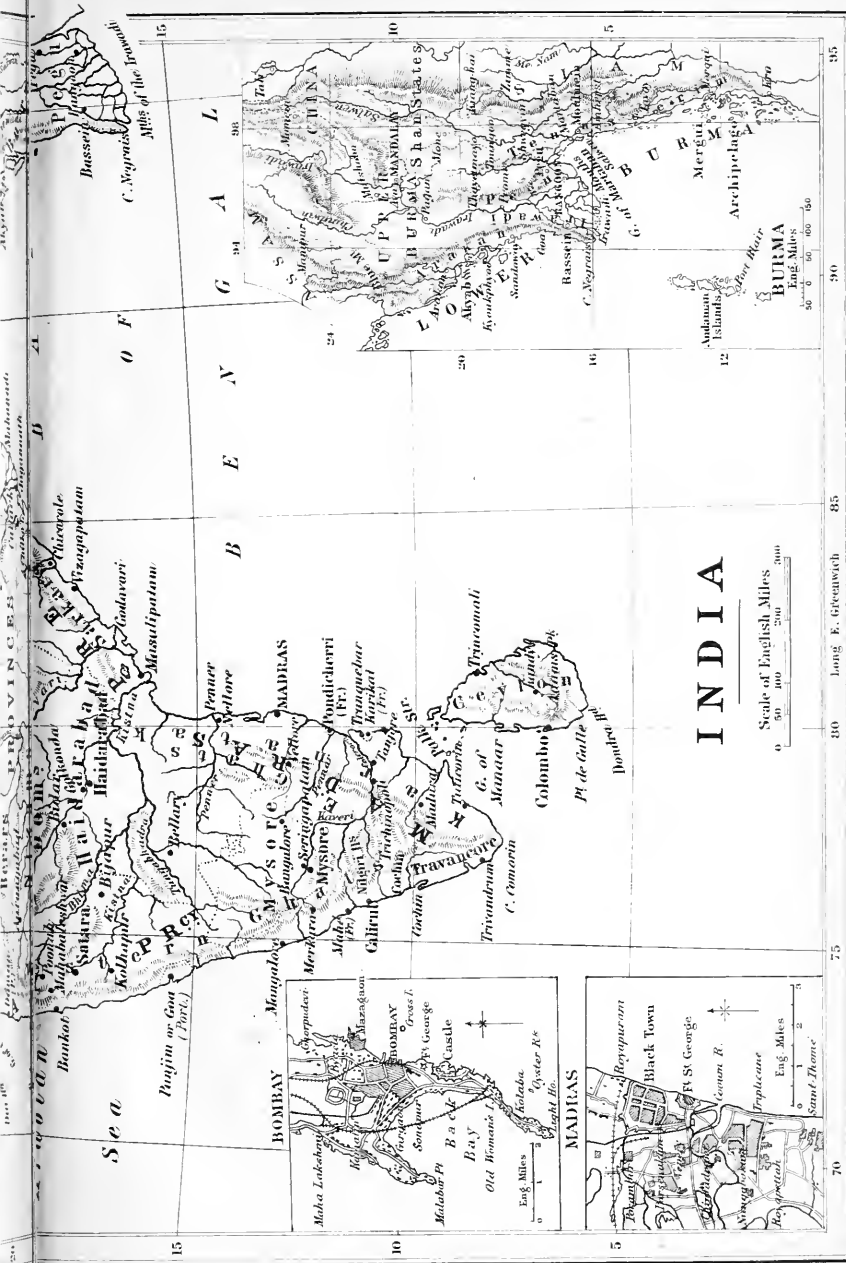
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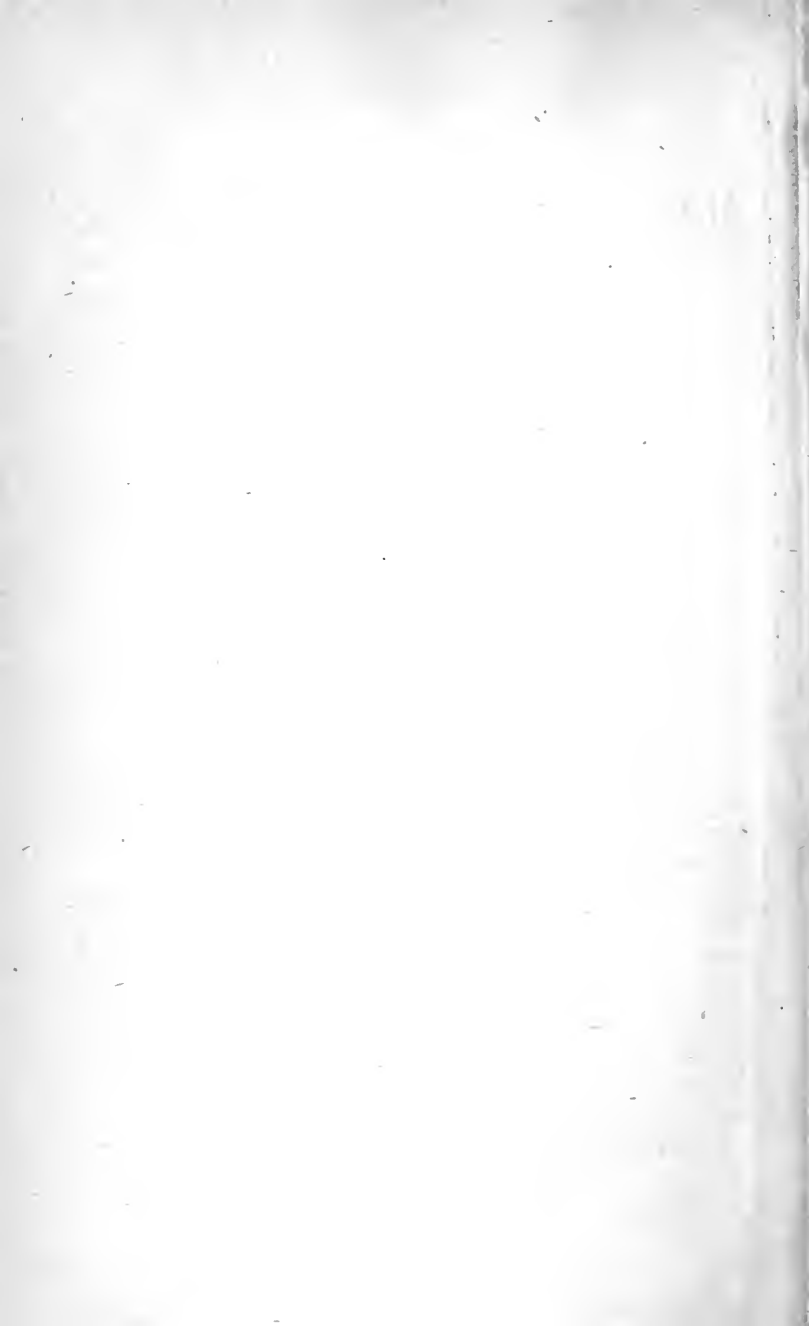
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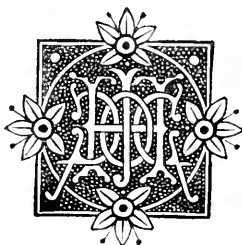


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THE
MAKERS OF BRITISH INDIA.

BY
W. H. DAVENPORT ADAMS.

With a Map and Twelve Illustrations.



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PREFACE.



IN the following pages I have endeavoured to tell the story—which can never be spoiled by over-much telling—of the rise and growth of our Indian Empire, in such wise that it may be intelligible to the general reader, while compressed within moderate limits. It is not easy to combine comprehensiveness with conciseness; and in the process of condensation something of the interest of the narrative may unavoidably be lost; yet I hope that I have not wholly suppressed the fascination that seems to me to belong to one of the most romantic chapters in the world's history. Deeply impressed myself by the wonderfulness of the foundation and expansion of our dominion in India, and keenly sensible of the boundless courage, resolution, and patient energy of the men who, assisted by favouring circumstances, have asserted the supremacy of Britain over two hundred millions of Asiatics, I trust I have so recited the tale as to excite in the reader's mind not dissimilar feelings.

Within the last quarter of a century the attention of Englishmen has begun to be directed towards their Indian possessions; but their history is not, I venture to say, so widely known as it ought to be, in spite of the labours of Mill, Orme, Kaye, Marshman, H. H. Wilson, Malleeson, Sir W. Hunter, and others. I think it will seldom be found included in the curriculum of our schools in which the history of Greece or Rome is invariably conspicuous. Desirable as it may be that

our youth should know something of the steps by which Rome grew up to be the world's Paramount Power, it can scarcely be less desirable that they should know how their country acquired its imperial position in Asia. And the lively concern which the British public take in, let us say, the affairs of Bulgaria, may judiciously be widened so as to take in Indian affairs. But this concern can be quickened and maintained only by increasing knowledge ; and it may be observed that our newspapers, which devote so much enterprise and intelligence to the politics of Paris or Berlin, seldom acquaint us with what is transpiring at Calcutta, Bombay, or Lahore. To accustom our people to look upon India as an integral part of the Empire, and to inspire them with a sympathetic regard for the welfare of its masses of inhabitants, has surely, of late years, become a duty. The present volume is a modest contribution in this direction. Based upon the latest and best authorities, it brings the annals of British India down to the present day. A record of events, it deals at the same time with the men concerned in them. It indicates the measures which have recently been adopted to promote the prosperity of our Indian fellow-subjects. Social and administrative reforms have been sketched ; and an outline is supplied of our Indian administrative system—an almost perfect machinery of its kind. It is hoped, indeed, that nothing of importance has been omitted which the reader in such a book would have a right to expect. The geographical position of the principal towns, and in many cases their distances from the great administrative centres, are given in paginal notes ; statistical information of a useful character is furnished in the Appendix. And it will be seen that the misdeeds of the Great Mutiny are described at considerable length ; the towns and districts in which its destructive influence was felt having for the reader's convenience been arranged in alphabetical order. It will also be observed that while the chief divisions of the book are arranged in correspondence with the terms of

office of our Governor-Generals and Viceroy, the principal events are arranged in subdivisions, with separate headings. The spelling of Indian names adopted is that, in the main, adopted in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," which may be considered to have official sanction. Finally, a list is prefixed of the historical and biographical authorities who have treated with most success the different branches of the vast subject I have attempted to survey in the present volume with a desire to be impartial, accurate, and honest.

W. H. DAVENPORT ADAMS.





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Etawah—Faizabad—Faruckabad

—Fatehgarh—Fatehpur—Firoz-

pur—Gaya—Ghazipur—Gonda

—Gorakhpur—Goryam—Gwalior

—Haidarabad—Hannipur—

Hansi—Indore—Jalaun—Jhansi

—Kotah—Kursi—Lahore—La-

litpur—Mainpuri—Mandrak—

Moradabad—Muzaffarnagar—

Nagina—Nagpur—Nargand—

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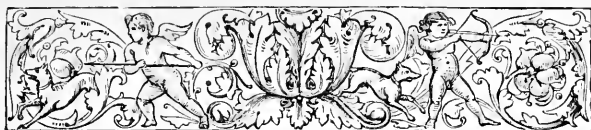
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THE MAKERS OF BRITISH INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

1600-1761.

*Rise and Growth of the East India Company—Rivalry
between England and France.*

IT may seem an absurdity, and yet is by no means an exaggeration, to say that the British Empire in India owes its origin to the liking of our Elizabethan ancestors for *pepper*. In the last year of the sixteenth century, the Dutch, who had made themselves masters of the trade of the East Indian Archipelago, raised the price of pepper, then largely used as a condiment at English tables, from 3s. to 6s. and 8s. per pound. To such an extortion our traders were not inclined to submit supinely, and at a meeting held at Founders' Hall, London, on September 22nd, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, it was resolved that an association should be formed for the purpose of opening up direct commercial communications with India. Their design was approved by Queen Elizabeth, who dispatched Sir John Mildenhall to the court of the Great Moghal, to apply for privileges for an English company; and on the last day of the year 1600 the East India Company, which was to place the sceptre of India in the hands of the sovereign of Great Britain,

was incorporated by royal charter under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies." Such was the seed from which so noble a tree was in due time to be developed.

The original Company had only 125 shareholders, and a capital of £70,000, increased to £400,000 in 1612-1613, when voyages were first undertaken on the joint-stock account. Its early voyages, twelve in number in the first decade, are known as the "separate voyages" because the subscribers individually bore the expenses of each, and reaped the whole profit. The first of its expeditions was commanded by Captain James Lancaster (1601-1603), who succeeded in establishing commercial relations with the King of Achin and at Piamam in the island of Sumatra. The second, under Sir Henry Middleton, extended the operations of the Company to Banda and Amboyna. Later expeditions got to Cambay, Masulipatam, and Siani, to Patania in the Malay Peninsula, to Pattipolla, and in 1602 to Surat. In 1614 an agency was planted at Ajmere. An important action was fought in 1615 off Swally, the port of Surat, between the Company's fleet, under Captain Best, and a much superior Portuguese force, which was decisively beaten. This victory produced a profound impression on the native mind, which had hitherto believed in Portuguese invincibility, the result being seen in the pre-eminence of our factory at Surat, with its subordinate agencies at Gogra, Ahmadabad, and Cambay.

In 1615 our ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, concluded a treaty with the Emperor Jahangir, which bestowed on the Company the right of trading and of planting factories in any part of the imperial territories, Surat, Bengal, and Sindy being particularised. Four years later a "treaty of defence" was negotiated with the Dutch, in order to put an end to the misunderstandings constantly occurring between the English and Dutch companies. But it was not worth the paper on which it was written; the strife between the two companies increased in bitterness, and the Dutch by 1625 had become supreme in the Archipelago, in Java, Siam, and Malacca. The English then made vigorous efforts to effect a permanent settlement

on the coast of India, and in 1639 Fort St. George, or Madraspatnam, was founded by Francis Day. It was raised in 1653 to the rank of a Presidency. In 1638-1640 an agency was opened at Bussorah and a factory at Karwar,¹ which in 1660 exported the finest muslins in India. The Company's trade had by this time developed to such an extent that its ship-building yard at Deptford no longer sufficed for its needs, and it opened a larger dockyard at Blackwall, in which was built the *Royal George*, of 1200 tons, the largest ship hitherto constructed in England.

The early history of our India Company is, however, a history of small beginnings, and we may be sure that its pioneers never anticipated, in their wildest dreams, that it would one day inherit the vast empire of the Mughals. It crept forward slowly, and by limited stages, and more than once, when it seemed to have accomplished a considerable advance, was thrown backward by some adverse event. I must here take note of the difficulties it experienced from the competition of rival associations. Sir William Courten's Company, afterwards known as "The Assaden Merchants," from a factory it founded in Madagascar, sprang up in 1635, but was absorbed in the older company in 1650. Four years later a "Company of Merchant Adventurers" was chartered by Cromwell, but, after a ten years' existence, followed the wise example of Courten's. Opposition on a more formidable scale was started in 1698 by the "English Company" or "General Society Trading to the East Indies," which was incorporated under powerful patronage, with a capital of two millions. According to Evelyn, the old East India Company "lost their business against the new company by ten votes in Parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs." The effect of this internecine rivalry, however, proved so injurious that the Ministry interfered, and in 1709 the two companies were consolidated under the name of "The United Company of the Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies." At the same time, in return for loans advanced to the Government,

¹ *Karwar*, lat. 40° 50' N., long. 74° 14' E.; port and town, 50 miles S.E. Goa, and 295 miles S.E. Bombay; population, 13,761.

the Company received the exclusive privilege to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

There would be little interest or profit in tracing piecemeal the territorial acquisitions of the Company. A factory was planted at Hugli, in Bengal, in 1640, and at Balasor in 1642. In 1661 Bombay came to the English crown as part of the dower of Queen Catherine of Braganza; and in 1668 King Charles II. transferred it to the East India Company for an annual payment of £10. It became the seat of a Presidency, in place of Surat, in 1684–1687. In 1661 a factory was founded at Biliapatam. Twenty years later Bengal was separated from Madras, and a Mr. Hodges was appointed “agent and governor” for the Company “in the Bay of Bengal, and of the factories subordinate to it at Kasimbazar, Patna, Balasor, Maldah, and Dacca. A corporal of approved fidelity, with twenty soldiers, to be a guard to the agent’s person at the factory of Hugli, and to act against interlopers.” In 1684 Sir John Child was made Captain-General and Admiral of India, and Sir John Wyborne Vice-Admiral and Deputy-Governor of Bombay. Sir John was afterwards appointed “Governor-General.”

At this time the Company’s establishments in East India consisted of¹—

The Presidency of Bantam, in Java, with its dependencies of Jamli, Macassar, and minor agencies in the Indian Archipelago.

Fort St. George, and its dependent factories on the Coromandel Coast and Bengal.

Surat, with its dependency of Bombay (their positions were soon afterwards reversed).

Factories at Broach, Ahmadabad, and other places in Western India.

Also at Gombroon and Bussorah in the Persian Gulf and Euphrates Valley.

Towards the end of 1686 the exactions of the Muhammadan governor compelled the Company’s servants to withdraw from

¹ Sir W. Hunter, vi. 370.

their factory at Hugli, and establish themselves for a while at Sutanati, lower down the river. Two years later they determined to abandon all their positions in Bengal; but the Emperor invited them to return, and granted them the site of the present city of Calcutta, where their chief, Job Charnock (whose name is still preserved in *Chánuk*, the native designation of Barrackpur), erected, for the defence of the new settlement, Fort William. It was about this time that the Company resolved on a new and important departure. Hitherto they had confined themselves to a trading policy; but they began to perceive that something more was necessary if they desired to extend their commerce, or even to retain what they already possessed. To resist the extortions of the Mughals and the Marathas, they must accept the responsibilities of territorial sovereignty, and, while continuing to be traders, must be also chiefs and conquerors. Therefore the Court of Directors formally recorded that "the increase of our commerce is the subject of our care as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India. Without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade when nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us. And upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."

In pursuance of this new resolution, they proceeded to reorganise their civil administration in India, where their possessions, as we have seen, had been grouped into three Presidencies, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. These were wholly independent of each other, and responsible only to the Company in England. In each the executive power was vested in the hands of a President and Council. Law and order were maintained among the native population by the usual zamindary courts; the foudjary court, for criminal cases; the cutcherri, for civil actions; and the collector's, for questions

respecting taxation and revenue. The judges in these courts were paid servants of the Company, appointed by the President and Council, and removable at pleasure. The Company's trading operations were carried on through agents called factors, or chiefs of factories, who resided at convenient points, and took charge of the warehouses and factories there erected. For defensive purposes the Company supported in each Presidency a small body of troops, partly Europeans, regularly uniformed and disciplined, and partly native sepoys—from *spahi*, a soldier—who were armed principally with sword and shield, though accustomed to the use of the musket, and were commanded by native officers.

Rivalry between England and France.

The political history of British India begins with the severe struggle for supremacy between England and France in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹ It is open to conjecture that our Anglo-Indian empire might never have been instituted—it is certain that its growth would have long been delayed—but for the currents of action created by the impulse of national rivalry and the thirst for territorial dominion which the example of France awakened and encouraged. But it was owing to the condition of India alone that such a struggle was possible. If the peninsula, with its immense population, had formed one compact and homogeneous state, under a single authority, which had power to wield at will all its vast resources, and promptly direct them towards any particular point, I imagine that no European nation would ever have succeeded in planting its feet within its borders. But it so happened that when European enterprise was attracted towards it, it was divided among several hostile races, and broken up into several distinct provinces, the interests of which were often antagonistic, and each of which was prepared to reward abundantly any European adventurer that came to its assistance against its neighbours. The Muhammadan empire still

¹ The reader will remember that a similar struggle was taking place almost contemporaneously in North America.

preserved the shadow of its past renown, and its rulers still occupied the august throne of Delhi; but Oudh was governed by its own sovereign, while Bengal, Behar, and Orissa had each its Nawab, who yielded but a nominal obedience to the Great Mughal.

In like manner the South of India was virtually independent of the Mughal. In the Deccan proper, the Nizam-ul-Mulk had founded a hereditary dynasty, with Haidarabad for its capital, which claimed to exercise authority over the entire South. The Karnatic—that is, the lowland tract between the central plateau and the Bay of Bengal—was ruled by the Nizam's deputy, the Nawab of Arcot. Farther to the south, a Hindu raja reigned at Trichinopoli; and another Hindu kingdom had its seat at Tanjore. Inland, Mysore was rapidly developing into a third Hindu state; while everywhere lived chieftains, called *palegars* or *naiks*, in semi-independent lordship of citadels or hill-forts, representing the fief-holders of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar; and many of them having maintained a practical independence since its fall in 1565.

The French settlement of Pondicherri,¹ about a hundred miles lower down the Coromandel Coast than Madras, was established by François Martin in 1674. Under his energetic supervision it grew in prosperity until it excited the jealousy of the Dutch, who, in August 1693, sent a large force against it, and after bombarding it for twelve days, compelled it to surrender. Martin returned to France, where he represented to the King in so graphic a manner the value of the lost possession, that in the Treaty of Ryswik its cession was made one of the conditions on which the French Ministry specially insisted. In 1698 Martin resumed the governorship of the settlement, and with characteristic vigour hastened to extend and strengthen the fortifications, to train a considerable body of troops for their defence, and to lay out the town

¹ *Pondicherri* (*Puducheri*), lat. 91° 55' 57" N.; has a statue of Dupleix; is a French settlement; population, 140,945.

on a new and splendid plan. He showed great skill in the management of the natives, so that, at his death, in 1708, the Hindu population of the town numbered 40,000. It is an irrefragable testimony to the wisdom of his policy that the progress of the French colony excited no apprehensions in the minds of any native rulers of the country. "The guns on the ramparts," says Malleison, "were regarded, not as threatening to a native power, but as a means of defence against one of the rival nations of Europe. When a native prince visited Pondicherry, he was received as a friend, he was carefully waited upon, he was pressed to stay. The idea of regarding the natives as enemies was never suffered by any chance to appear. Acknowledging them as the lords paramount of the country, the French professed to consider themselves their best tenants, their primest well-wishers. Pondicherri rose, therefore, without exciting a single feeling of distrust."

In October 1741, Joseph François Dupleix, who had already given proofs of his fertility of resource, swiftness of decision, and force of character—the qualities needed in every man who seeks to lead, or guide, or command his fellow-men—arrived at Pondicherri to take the oaths as Governor-General and to assume the title and dignity of Nawab, which the Emperor had conferred upon his predecessors, together with the military rank of a commander of 4500 horsemen. Having before him a field wide enough for the exercise of his splendid talents, he resolved to win for his country a supremacy in Indian affairs, and on the ruins of the Mughal monarchy to raise a Franco-Indian empire. He was revolving in his mind this great idea, when, in 1746, his capital was visited by La Bourdonnais, the governor of the Mauritius, at the head of an expedition intended to act against the English possessions in India. Both men were impatient of control, and a keen rivalry soon arose between them. After a delay of several weeks, La Bourdonnais proceeded to the attack of Madras, which was wholly unprepared to resist the formidable force brought against it, and, after a siege of five days, surrendered. La Bourdonnais, however, for some unexplained reason, agreed to ransom it for forty-four lakhs of rupees, inde-

pendently of the merchandise, the naval and military stores, and the moneys belonging to the Company ; and agreed that the town should be evacuated by his troops within three months, and not again attacked during the war.

Dupleix was greatly indignant when apprised of these lenient terms, but, unable to use force against La Bourdonnais, he resorted to stratagem, and entered into negotiations with him for the possession of Madras, on the understanding that he would fulfil the conditions to which La Bourdonnais had agreed. While they were pending, the monsoon set in with unusual fury ; and though the vessels carrying the plunder escaped, the men-of-war were either lost or disabled. Overcome by this calamity, La Bourdonnais wrote to Dupleix : " My part is taken regarding Madras ; I abandon it to you. I have signed the capitulation, and it is for you to observe its terms. I am so disgusted with this wretched Madras, that I would give an arm never to have meddled with it. It has cost us too much."

Dupleix, having laid hands upon the town, was in no hurry to part with it. The English then appealed to the Nawab of Arcot to punish the aggressors ; and he at once dispatched an army of ten thousand men to rescue Madras and restore it to its rightful owners. The French force available did not exceed four hundred men, but boldly pushing forward, they attacked the Nawab's soldiery with immense enthusiasm, and in a few minutes drove them into a shameful flight. This brilliant feat of arms—this immediate discomfiture of ten thousand men by a single European battalion—was an event of no ordinary importance. " It dissolved at once and for ever the spell which had hitherto kept Europeans in dread of native armies. It demonstrated their inherent weakness, however strong in numbers ; and it gave the Europeans that confidence in their own valour and strategy which contributed more than anything else to the successive subversion of the native thrones." Exulting in this decisive victory, Dupleix tore up the treaty which La Bourdonnais had concluded with the governor of Madras, on the plea that it had never been sanctioned by himself. He confiscated all the property, public and

private, of the English, and ordered the European inhabitants who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the French Government to quit the town within four days. In spite of their dignified remonstrances, the governor and principal residents were conveyed to Pondicherri and ostentatiously paraded through its streets. A few, however, who contrived to escape this humiliation, made their way to Fort St. David, some miles to the south, the only place in the Karnatic where the English flag was still flying. Among them was a young clerk named Robert Clive, who was destined in a few years to reverse this unpropitious stroke of fortune, and chastise the French viceroy for his breach of faith.

Dupleix was preparing to carry his arms against Fort St. David, when in August 1748 an English fleet under Admiral Boscawen arrived off the Coromandel Coast with orders to attack the French settlements. It consisted of upwards of thirty large vessels, including thirteen ships of the line, and carried a military contingent, which, when reinforced by the garrison of Fort St. David, amounted to 6000 men, Europeans and sepoys. The English civilians were happy in the belief that so formidable an expedition would restore the military prestige of their country, but Boscawen's campaign proved a lamentable failure. He appeared off Pondicherri early in September, landed his troops, and began the siege; but the French repulsed all his attacks, and having lost upwards of a thousand men in conflict and through disease, he re-embarked the army about the middle of October, and returned to Fort St. David without having accomplished anything. This *fiasco* produced a great effect on the Indian princes, who hastened to lavish compliments upon Dupleix, and to extol the military valour and skill of the French. His influence and authority in Central India was enormously increased, and he was nourishing dreams of conquest and supremacy, when news arrived of the conclusion of peace between England and France at Aix-la-Chapelle (1749), and he learned, to his infinite mortification, that one of the articles of the treaty restored Madras to the East India Company.

The results of this initial struggle between France and

England in India were rather moral than material, but they modified the relations of the two European nations towards the native princes as well as towards each other. At its beginning, both the French and the English appeared to be inoffensive traders, intent only upon the extension of their commerce, but at its close they had assumed the character of rival military powers, whose future operations might seriously involve important native interests. At its beginning the two nations had lived for years on amicable terms, unaffected by the course of European politics, but the capture of Madras and the attack upon Pondicherry had awakened the old traditional enmity, and provoked a rivalry which could be terminated only by the defeat and expulsion of one of the adversaries. As yet the English had formed no idea of becoming the paramount power in India, but the superiority of his troops over the natives, as conclusively exhibited in the battle at St. Thomé, had strengthened in the mind of the French leader that conception of an European empire founded on the ruins of the Mughal monarchy which he was the first to form. "He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline and guided by the tactics of the West." At the same time the increased expenditure incurred in keeping up the larger number of European soldiers almost compelled both the French and the English to hire them out to the native princes in their constant wars against one another. And in this way an entirely new direction was given to the policy of the European settlers.

The War in the Karnatic.

At the close of the first half of the eighteenth century the ruler of the Karnatic was the Nawab Anwar-ud-din, or, as he is called in contemporary English records, Anaverdy Khan. Nominally he was subordinate to the Viceroy of the Deccan, Nazir Jang. Each, however, was menaced by a claimant to his throne, Muzaffar Jang disputing that of Nazir, and Chanda Sahib that of Anwar-ud-din. These two adventurers, united by

a common danger, entered into a close alliance, and had determined on seeking the assistance of the Marathas, when Dupleix intimated secretly his willingness to support them, perceiving how great would be the advantage if the rulers of the Deccan and the Karnatic should owe their positions to the arms of France. Accordingly, in return for the cession of a small tract of land near Pondicherri, he dispatched a contingent of 400 Europeans and 2000 sepoys disciplined by French officers. Muzaffar Jang, with 30,000 men, had meanwhile effected a junction with Chanda Sahib at the head of 6000 men, and the combined forces attacked the army of Anwar-ud-din at Ambur,¹ on the river Palar, August 3rd, 1750. In the battle which ensued, the French, under M. de Bussy, carried everything before them. The Nawab was killed, his troops fled panic-stricken, and all the spoils of his camp fell into the hands of the victors. One of his sons, Muphaz Khan, was taken prisoner, the other, notorious in later years as the Nawab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali, whose cruel exploits were immortalised by the eloquence of Burke, effected his escape.

On the following day Muzaffar Jang entered Arcot,² where he caused himself to be proclaimed Subadar (or viceroy) of the Deccan, and afterwards appointed Chanda Sahib Nawab of the Karnatic. Flying columns were then sent out to subdue the surrounding country; and the two princes, having paid a visit to Pondicherri, were received with all the pomp and circumstance that Dupleix could command, with waving of banners and the roar of guns. The Nizam rewarded Dupleix for the important service rendered with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages, the population of which was thirty millions; gave him a rank equal to that of the commander of seven thousand cavalry, and made him a present of £200,000. It cannot be alleged that he was deficient in gratitude or niggardly in his gifts.

Muhammad Ali was quick to discover that he could do

¹ *Ambūr*, lat. 12° 50' ; 112 miles from Madras ; population, 10,390 ; ceded by Haidar Ali, 1789.

² *Arcot* (Aru-Kadu, "the six forests"), the 'Ἀρκατου Βασιλειον Σωρα of Ptolemy ; lat. 12° 55' N. ; 65 miles from Madras ; N. bank of the Palar.

nothing against Chanda Sahib and his French auxiliaries, unless he, too, could secure the assistance of European bayonets; and therefore he applied to the Government of Madras. That Government did not fail to see the necessity of opposing a check to French ascendancy, but set to work in a half-hearted and inadequate manner, reinforcing their ally with only 120 men. Duplex strongly urged Chanda Sahib to an immediate attack upon Trichinopoli, and sent eight hundred additional troops to his support; but he preferred to gratify a personal grudge against the Raja of Tanjore, and laid siege to his capital.¹ For two months the Raja maintained a steady resistance; he was then constrained to cede several villages to the French, and to promise a payment of seventy lakhs of rupees to the allies. But before he handed over the first instalment the allies fell back in haste upon Pondicherri, the safety of which was threatened by the advance of Nazir Jang with an army (it is said) of 300,000 men, half of whom were mounted, 800 guns, and 1300 elephants. On his arrival at Valdavar,² a few miles from Pondicherri, the Nizam was joined by Major Lawrence, a competent officer, with 600 English soldiers. The allied force did not exceed 40,000 men, who were mutinous from want of pay, and demoralised by the reports which had reached them of the magnitude of the Nizam's host. But Duplex rose equal to the occasion. He advanced the money necessary for the payment of arrears, increased the French contingent to 2000 men, and negotiated with Nazir Jang to separate him from the English alliance.

His ingenious combinations, however, were unexpectedly defeated. On the eve of the day fixed for engaging the Nizam in battle (April 2nd), thirteen French officers, taking umbrage at the treatment they had received, threw up their commands, and rode away to Pondicherri. The French contingent hastened to follow their example, and, accompanied by Chanda Sahib,

¹ *Tanjore* (Tanjavar), lat. 10° 27' N.; famous for its great temple or pagoda; population, 54,475.

² *Valdavar*, lat. 11° 55' N.; 9 miles N.W. of Pondicherri; population, 1,857.

began their retreat at midnight. Though hotly pursued by the Maratha cavalry, they reached the French settlement with the loss of only a few prisoners and guns. In these circumstances, Muzaffar Jang deemed it wisest to surrender to Nazir Jang, who, freed from his enemies, and enjoying once more the undisputed sovereignty of the Deccan, bestowed the vacant throne of the Karnatic upon Muhammad Ali. Thus the project of Dupleix was completely overthrown; but, rallying his wonderful energies, he applied himself to the invention of new combinations and tenaciously clung to his dream of empire.

While seeking to reorganise the allied army, he sent envoys to Nazir Jang, requiring him to protect French interests, and opened secret communications with some of his officers to secure their clandestine assistance. An expedition was dispatched against Masulipatam,¹ which was taken without bloodshed; and another against the fortified pagoda of Tonivadi. Reinforced by 1300 Europeans and 2500 sepoy, with 1000 horse, under Chanda Sahib, Dupleix fought an action with Muhammad Ali on the 1st of September, and gained a complete victory. Muhammad fled with only two or three attendants, leaving a thousand killed and wounded on the field; while his horsemen, some 15,000 in number, crossed the Panar in disgraceful rout. M. de Bussy was then sent forward with 250 Europeans and 1200 sepoy to attack the famous fortress of Gingi,² which bristled on the summits of three steep hills, connected by long walls of circumvallation. He carried it by a bold and skilful night-surprise, which drove the enemy into a panic, and held it, we may add, for eleven years, until it was captured in 1761, after a siege of five weeks, by Captain Stephen Smith.

These brilliant successes startled the Viceroy from his complacent and luxurious indolence, and collecting his scattered divisions, he took the field with an army of 60,000 foot and 25,000 horse—such are the figures given by early historians,

¹ *Masulipatam* ("Fish-town"), lat. 16° 9' S" N.; 215 miles N. of Madras; population, 35,056.

² *Gingi*, lat. 12° 15' 19" N.; 82 miles S.W. from Madras.

but in this and in other cases a large deduction ought, no doubt, to be made, with 360 guns and 700 elephants. His projected march upon Gingi was interrupted, however, by the heavy rains; and during the delay of two months that followed, his camp was ravaged by disease, and the loyalty of his chiefs undermined by French intrigues. Apprehensive of latent perils, he negotiated terms of peace with Dupleix, embodying the most liberal concessions. But before a formal treaty could be signed, Bussy, ignorant of what was going on, sallied forth from Gingi, in agreement with the Nizam's treacherous chiefs, to attack the great Maratha army. On the 4th of December, with only 800 Europeans and 3000 sepoy, he delivered a sudden and fierce attack. With his guns he swept away the cavalry, and then, levelling his bayonets, put to ignominious flight the infantry, who, ill-trained and badly commanded, could offer no steady resistance to his compact array. In the moment of his success he descried with some alarm a body of 20,000 or 25,000 men drawing near on his left flank, and rapidly rallied his fighting-men to fight, as he supposed, a second battle. Fortunately, on their closer approach, it was seen that they marched under French colours; and they proved to be the battalions of the confederate Nawabs, who informed him of the death of the Nizam, shot through the heart by the Nawab of Cuddapah.

The wheel of fortune having thus completed an entire revolution, Muzaffar Jang was recognised as Viceroy of the Deccan, and he hastened to pay a ceremonial visit to the ruler of Pondicherri. The day of his installation (December the 27th) marked the zenith of French ascendancy in India, and, all things considered, was perhaps the brightest in the romantic career of Dupleix. In a magnificent tent, pitched in the great square of Pondicherri, a pavilion hung with gorgeous draperies and adorned with the flags of the East and the West, Muzaffar Jang, surrounded by a brilliant gathering of European officers and Maratha warriors, loaded the famous Frenchman with the honours which his statesmanship had well deserved. He declared him Nawab of the country south of the river Kistna up to Cape Comorin, including Mysore

and the whole of the Karnatic ; as a personal gift he conferred upon him the fortress of Valdavar, with the villages and lands dependent upon it, and a jaghir of 100,000 rupees annually, together with the rank of *munsab*, or commander of 7000 horse. Dupleix, who, to his many splendid qualities as a ruler, added a rare knowledge of human nature and a sympathetic generosity of feeling, duly acknowledged the Subadar's liberality ; but, far from absorbing all the credit to himself of recent achievements, he brought forward Chanda Sahib, as his true and tried comrade, and begged that to him should be reserved, at all events, the sovereignty and revenue of the Karnatic, in acknowledgment of his faithful services. This measure of self-abnegation — this moderation of temper in the flush of prosperity and power — produced a great impression upon the native princes, and crushed in their minds any sentiment of jealousy or anxiety which the extraordinary acquisitions of the European might otherwise have excited. But when this delicacy and caution were no longer necessary, Dupleix allowed his pride and satisfaction to obtain expression, and erected a lofty column, on the four sides of which, and on each in a different language, was engraved the record of his exploits. Around it a village grew up, to which was given the name of Dupleix-Futtehabad, that is, the place of the victory of Dupleix. If this ostentation were unworthy of him, we must, nevertheless, admit that it was not without justification. Towards the Indian Empire which he desired to present to his country, and the value of which his country never understood till it was too late, he secured the Nawabship of the Karnatic ; the protectorate of the Subahat of Arcot, and of other parts of Southern India ; large extents of territory around Pondicherri, Karikal, and Masulipatam ; the districts of Montpanagar, Ellore, and Rajamahendri, with Chikakol, and the island of Srirangam. These various annexations opened up to French commerce two hundred leagues of coast, and yielded an annual revenue of £800,000.

The death of Muzaffar Jang followed close upon the ceremony in which he had borne so conspicuous a part. His younger brother, Salabat Jang, was immediately raised to the

throne, under the patronage of the French governor, and formally invested at Aurungabad¹, on the 29th of June.

In his hour of distress, Muhammad Ali had undertaken to cede Trichinopoli,² but a promise of solid and effectual support being conveyed to him by the Government of Madras, he openly refused to carry out his engagement. Dupleix fully understood that behind this defiance lay the English power; but without the possession of Trichinopoli he could not hold the Karnatic safely, and acting with his customary decision, he set in motion against the coveted city Chanda Sahib's forces, with the Marathas and a body of 400 French troops under Mons. d'Auteuil (March 1751).

The then governor of Madras, Mr. Saunders, though not a statesman of the calibre of Dupleix, was a man of clear perception, who saw that an effective check to the progress of France could be administered through Muhammad Ali. But his resources were limited, and after he had sent all the assistance he could spare to Trichinopoli, the besiegers still outnumbered the besieged in the proportion of two to one. The critical nature of the emergency thus presented was apparent to at least one of the young officers of the garrison,—to Robert Clive, who had begun his work in life as a civilian, but by his services as a volunteer at the siege of Pondicherri, having shown himself eminently fitted for the career of arms, had been appointed to the post of commissary to the troops with the rank of captain. Clive, as we all know, possessed a natural genius for war, was, as the elder Pitt said of him, “a heaven-born general,” who, without any scientific knowledge of strategy or tactic, could invent the combinations that ensure success; could foresee and provide against an enemy's movements; could execute his plans as resolutely as he formed them promptly; and, above all, could infuse his own decision and daring into the breasts of his followers. Quick to see that nothing could be effected at Trichinopoli for the security of Trichinopoli, that

¹ *Aurungabad*, lat. 19° 54' N.; on the Kauon river; 270 miles from Haidarabad.

² *Trichinopoli* (“city of the three-headed Rakshasa”), lat. 10° 49' N.; population, 84,449.

the garrison was too weak for a successful attack upon the investing force, he came to the conclusion that relief could be obtained only by carrying the war into the enemy's country, and operating at some point to which he would be compelled to divert his forces. Therefore he laid before Mr. Saunders a scheme which, in the circumstances, none other than an exceptionally audacious intellect could have imagined, for an attack upon Arcot, which, as the seat of the Nawab's government and the capital of the Karnatic, the enemy would be compelled to protect. It was fortunate for our Indian Empire that in Mr. Saunders Clive found a chief willing to consider and able to appreciate his young subordinate's proposal. He could not be blind to the hazard that attended it, but he recognised also its chances of success; and drawing from Madras and Fort St. David a small force of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys (with eight field-pieces), he placed it under Clive's command, and bade him depart with a cordial God-speed.

Siege of Arcot.

It was on the 25th of August 1751 that Robert Clive left Madras on the march that was destined to change the face of India. Five days later, while the heavens thundered and lightened with appalling fury, and the rain descended in heavy floods, he pitched his camp outside the gates of Arcot. The steadfastness and cool composure with which he and his little army had braved the violence of the storm so profoundly impressed the enemy's spies, that the reports with which they hurried into the town undermined the courage of the garrison, and before a blow was struck they abandoned the fort. On the following morning it was occupied by Clive, who at once set to work to strengthen and repair its defences, knowing that he would have to stand a siege. The garrison meanwhile plucked up a little spirit, and gathering reinforcements from the neighbourhood until its numbers were swelled to 3000 men, assumed a menacing position close to the town. Clive, under cover of the night, slipped out of the citadel, surprised

the enemy's outposts, and put his troops to flight with considerable slaughter.

When apprised of the loss of his capital, Chanda Sahib immediately dispatched 4000 of his best troops with 150 of the French, under the command of his son, Raja Sahib, to recapture it. On the 23rd of September he entered the town and invested the fort with an army of 2000 native regular troops, 5000 irregulars, 120 Europeans, and 300 cavalry. The fort was about a mile in circuit, with a low, unsubstantial parapet; some of its towers were in a dilapidated condition, and the ditch, in several places fordable, was in others "dry and choked up." Clive's force had been reduced by disease and casualties to 120 Europeans and 200 sepoys. There were but sixty days' provisions, but, fortunately, an ample supply of water. With all these disadvantages Clive undertook a vigorous resistance. The breaches which the enemy's fire made by day in the crumbling old walls were energetically repaired during the night. Within the citadel had been discovered a colossal piece of ordnance, which, we are told, had been drawn by a thousand yoke of oxen all the way from Delhi, discharging a 72-pound ball. This huge cannon Clive succeeded in mounting on one of the towers, whence it was fired once each day into the Nawab's palace, at the time that Raja Sahib and his officers met in council. On the fourth day it burst, but as it had always been fired by train as a measure of precaution, no damage was done. The accident, however, raised the spirits of the besiegers, who erected a mound close to the walls, of elevation sufficient to overlook the whole interior of the fort, and on this mound planted a small but powerful battery. As soon as the work was completed, Clive opened fire upon it, and with such skill and effectiveness, that in less than an hour it was a mass of ruin, and the fifty men upon it were all killed or disabled. The native troops, it should be said, showed no less zeal and energy in the defence than their European comrades; and, with a fine generosity of feeling, they proposed to Clive that all the grain in store should be reserved for the use of the latter, who required more nourishment than Asiatics; for

themselves, the liquor in which the rice was steeped would be sufficient.

The siege dragged its slow length along. Attempts made from Madras to relieve the little company of heroes proved unsuccessful, and unaided they continued to repel the attacks of the enemy. But provisions and ammunition were on the point of exhaustion, and when the fiftieth day was reached, Clive's only hope lay in the assistance promised by Morari Rao, a Maratha chief, who had hitherto remained neutral, but, struck by the vigour and valour of the Englishmen, now intimated his willingness to come to their aid. When Raja Sahib heard that his six thousand sabres were in motion, he summoned Clive to surrender; his message met with a stern refusal. He offered a gift of money; it was contemptuously put aside. Then he sent word that he would immediately storm the fort, and put every one of its defenders to the sword. Clive coldly replied that his father was an usurper, his army a rabble, and that he should think twice before he sent such cravens into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Raja Sahib resolved to adventure an assault, and fixed it for November the 14th, a day on which is celebrated the great Muhammadan festival of the Moharram, in memory of Hassan, the son of Ali. Maddened with drink and fanaticism, his warriors rushed to the attack. "Clive had received secret intelligence of the design; had made his plans," says Lord Macaulay, "and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced, driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of those living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls, than they turned round and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that the gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry the assailants mounted

with great boldness, but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well directed that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks well supplied with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told upon the living mass below. After these desperate assaults the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

"The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition."

Such was the end of the famous siege of Arcot, a brilliant feat of arms, which supplies us with the keynote, as it were, of the military history of British India ; for similar exploits—similar instances of splendid triumphs won in the teeth of disproportionate odds—are recorded in almost every page of every chapter. As Orme effectively puts it, this siege was maintained for fifty days, under every disadvantage of situation and force, by a mere handful of men in their first campaign ; yet they exhibited a spirit and solidarity worthy of veteran troops, and were led by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unshaken confidence, and undaunted courage. And though at this time "he had neither read books nor conversed with men capable of giving him much instruction in the military art, all the resources which he employed in the defence of Arcot were such as were dictated by the best masters in the art of war."

Clive's Victories.

We return for a moment to Trichinopoly, where Clive's brilliant movement had had the desired effect. The pressure of the enemy was greatly relieved, and soon afterwards a body of troops was sent by way of Tanjore to reinforce the garrison. An attempt to reinforce them failed ; and Major Lawrence with his men marched exultantly into Trichinopoly. A similar

operation on the part of the French met with exactly a reversed fate. The French were attacked by Captain Dalton, and so effectually defeated that they retreated upon Pondicherry in great haste. Chanda Sahib's troops immediately abandoned him; he was assassinated by one of his nobles; and the siege of Trichinopoli was virtually raised.

Reinforcements having arrived at Arcot, Clive, leaving a garrison for its defence, prepared to follow up Raja Sahib, and by rapid marches overtook him at Arni, a fortified town on the bank of the river Chegair. The Raja's force consisted of 4500 native infantry and cavalry and 300 French; Clive's of 700 sepoys, 600 Maratha horse, and 200 English. But Clive, never pausing to count numbers, threw himself on the enemy's flank, broke up his army, and drove him from the field, with a loss of 250 killed and wounded and all his guns. Arni was stormed and captured; and Clive advanced swiftly upon Conjevaram,¹ which he retook after a brief resistance. Flushed with victory, he then returned to Fort St. David, where he was received with the honours which always await success.

As soon, however, as Clive had passed from the scene, Raja Sahib drew together his forces, broke like a storm upon Conjevaram, and swept with fire and sword the English territory almost to the walls of Fort St. George. Clive was again instructed to take the field; and so great was the terror of his name that the enemy immediately retired in confusion to their intrenched camp at Vandalore. Clive marched upon Conjevaram, which surrendered at the first summons; and then, on hearing that Raja Sahib had quitted his camp in order to attempt the recovery of Arcot, he wheeled round, threw himself across his line of advance, and attacked him by moonlight at Kaveripak.² The enemy's guns were so well served that at first the English were hard pressed, but, by a skilful flank movement, Clive took them in rear, and turning them upon

¹ *Conjevaram* (*Kanchivaram*), lat. 12° 49'; 46 miles S.W. from Madras; population, 37,275.

² *Kāveripak* ("a dam over the Kaveri"); lat. 12° 54' N., long. 79° 30' E.; 10 miles E. of Arcot.

their own masters, quickly changed the fortune of battle. The Raja's loose battalions fell away and took to flight, abandoning on the field three standards and nine cannon, and leaving in the conqueror's hands a large number of prisoners. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to 350; that of the conquerors to 70.

Having reinforced the garrison at Arcot, our young captain marched in the direction of Vellore,¹ then, according to Orme, the strongest fortress in the Karnatic, and the retreat of Mur-tiza Ali, a predatory chief, who defied the authority of his sovereign and kinsman, the Nawab of Arcot, and of his English allies. Being recalled to Fort St. David, he passed on his road the vainglorious column of Dupleix at "the place of victory," and, as a measure of policy, razed it to the ground. On his arrival at Fort St. David, he was offered the command of an expedition which the governor had prepared for the relief of Trichinopoli, that town having been reinvested by the French and the Nizam's army. In three days he was ready to set out, but on the morning of departure (March 25, 1752), Major Lawrence, who had been spending his furlough in England, disembarked at Madras, and by right of seniority assumed the leadership. Clive yielded to his claim immediately, and willingly agreed to serve as his lieutenant. With 400 English and 1800 native troops and eight guns, the two commanders pushed forward so energetically, that M. Law, the French general, hastily fell back across the Kaveri, and took up his post in the island of Srirangam,² where he lay inactive until Dupleix sent up large reinforcements. Then, recrossing the river, he pitched his camp a little beyond the present racecourse, to prevent supplies from being thrown into the city. Lawrence and Clive engaged him without delay, and inflicted a severe defeat, the action being known as the battle of the Golden Rock, from a great isolated mass of gneiss that rises out of the plain to the height of 250 feet. Leaving Clive in command, Major Lawrence repaired to the

¹ *Vellore (Vellur)*, lat. 12° 55' N.; on the river Palar; population, 37,491.

² *Srirangam*, an island formed by the bifurcation of the Kaveri, about 11 miles W. of Trichinopoli.

Raja of Tanjore to obtain additional troops. On his return the French endeavoured to intercept his march as he crossed the plain that lies south-east of the city, but were again repulsed, while they also failed in a night-surprise against Dalton battery. The English then drew a cordon round the enemy's lines and enforced so rigid a blockade, that in June 1752 he was glad to capitulate.

The climate and excessive activity had so seriously impaired Clive's health, that towards the close of the year he resolved on paying a visit to England. But circumstances rendered it desirable that the French garrisons should be driven out of the fortified positions of Covelong and Chingalpat. The only available military force consisted of 200 recruits from England, the refuse of the English jails, and 500 sepoys, who had been but recently levied. Few officers who had obtained so brilliant a reputation as Clive would have taken the command of such a ragged regiment, but he did not hesitate. On arriving with it before Covelong,¹ a shot from the fort killed one of his warriors, and the rest immediately fled so fast and so far that it was with difficulty he overtook them and compelled them to return to their standards. We do not know whether in his whole career one can find a better proof of his capacity for command—his faculty of ruling men—than the fact that he gradually trained these poltroons into brave and obedient soldiers, with whom he captured Covelong and defeated an expedition which Dupleix had sent to its relief. Thence he marched on to Chingalpat,² a fortified town of great strength, the fort being defended on three sides by a lake and swamp, and on the fourth by a double line of fortifications. Clive bombarded it fiercely, and having effected a practicable breach, was preparing to storm it, when the garrison discreetly capitulated. He returned to Madras with fresh laurels of victory on his head, and soon afterwards embarked for England.

The work he had done so swiftly and so thoroughly was work of the highest importance, though neither he nor his

¹ *Covelong* (*Kovilaun*), lat. 12° 46' N.; 30 miles S. of Madras; population, 1672 (chiefly fishermen).

² *Chingalpat* ("the brick town"), lat. 12° 42' N.; population, 5617.

contemporaries were aware of it. He had changed the whole course of events in India, and handed over its sovereignty to his own people. "With a rough and determined hand," says Malleon, "he broke down the foundations of French dominion, infused a confidence into the English soldiers that never afterwards left them, and showed the world that the natives of India, when well led, and when possessing confidence in their commanders, are capable of evincing the best qualities of real soldiers, alike courage and constancy, heroism and self-denial. But for this one man, no diversion would have been attempted on Arcot, the English garrison would have remained dispirited in Trichinopoli, and, it is more than probable, would have yielded that city to the superior numbers of Law. But it was Clive that broke the spell of French invincibility ; he it was who first showed his troops and the natives of the Karnatic that it was possible to conquer even the soldiers of Dupleix. He transferred, moreover, to the English soldiers that opinion of their own qualities in the field which till his coming had been monopolised by the French. It was a hard destiny that brought to the overthrow of the plans of Dupleix a genius so warlike, a mastery over men so unsurpassed."

The French in the Deccan.

The siege of much-beleaguered Trichinopoli was renewed early in 1753 by the armies of the Nizam, Morari Rao, and the French. It was carried on with exceptional vigour, and the defence was maintained with exceptional constancy. Military men admit that Major Lawrence handled his troops with ability ; under his firm direction they repulsed three several attacks of the allied forces. The position of the enemy at length was fatally weakened by the defection of Morari Rao, whom Muhammad Ali bribed to his side with a gift of three lakhs of rupees. But while French and English in Southern India were thus persistently engaged in hostilities, the mother countries in Europe were enjoying an interval of peace, and the British Government in 1753 remonstrated with the French

Government on the aggressive policy which Dupleix so persistently followed up. Accordingly, a M. Godeheu was sent out to Pondicherri with instructions to supersede that brilliant adventurer, who, on the arrival of the new governor, immediately resigned his high office, and in September 1754 embarked for France. It must ever be a disgrace to Louis XV. and his ministers that they received him with cold indifference, and to France that even to this day she neglects the memory of the man who sought to endow her with an Indian Empire.

After the departure of Dupleix M. Godeheu opened negotiations with Mr. Saunders for the purpose of settling all the questions in dispute between the subjects of the two European Powers. The articles of agreement which they adopted were embodied in a formal treaty, and provided that both parties to it should for ever renounce "all Moorish government and dignity," and cease to interfere in the quarrels of the native princes; further, that the Indian acquisitions of the two nations should eventually be divided into shares of equal value. This latter fantastic condition, we need hardly say, could never have been carried out except in a millennial period of moderation and justice. But before the ink was dry in which the two negotiators had formulated their admirable views, the whole agreement was set aside by the stern pressure of events. Hostilities broke out between England and France in 1754, opening the Seven Years' War, and they were waged in India as well as in Europe.

It will be within the reader's recollection that in 1752 the French commander, M. de Bussy, raised Salabat Jang to the viceroyalty of the Deccan. He then began to act as his chief minister and military adviser, and it must be admitted that in both capacities he proved himself to be a man of resolution and ability. Careful, however, of the interests of France, he induced the Subadar to cede the four littoral districts, some 600 miles in extent, of the Northern Sarkars or Circars, and obtained for himself the government of the new province, uniting its various parts under the titular chiefship of Vijayaram, Raja of Vijayanagar. Three years later, however, at

the instigation of a favourite councillor, the Nizam resolved to disembarass himself of his too powerful feudatory, and suddenly ordered him to quit his dominions. Bussy showed no signs of anger or resentment at this abrupt dismissal, but retired to Masulipatam, whence he sent messages to Pondicherry urgently pressing for all the reinforcements that could be spared. The Nizam then applied for assistance to the Madras Government, but they at the time were occupied with affairs at Calcutta, and unable to reply favourably to his appeal. The Nizam, however, with a vast army, advanced against M. de Bussy, who had posted himself at Haidarabad, and pressed the siege with so much vigour, that Bussy was on the point of surrender, when M. Law with a large body of troops crossed the highlands to his relief. On his appearance, Salabat Jang fell into a panic of alarm, and sent abject proposals for an accommodation. Bussy behaved with singular self-control and even magnanimity. He sought neither the humiliation of his suzerain nor the punishment of his enemies, and was entirely satisfied when, on the 20th of August 1756, the Subadar publicly reinstated him in all his titles, dignities, and honours.

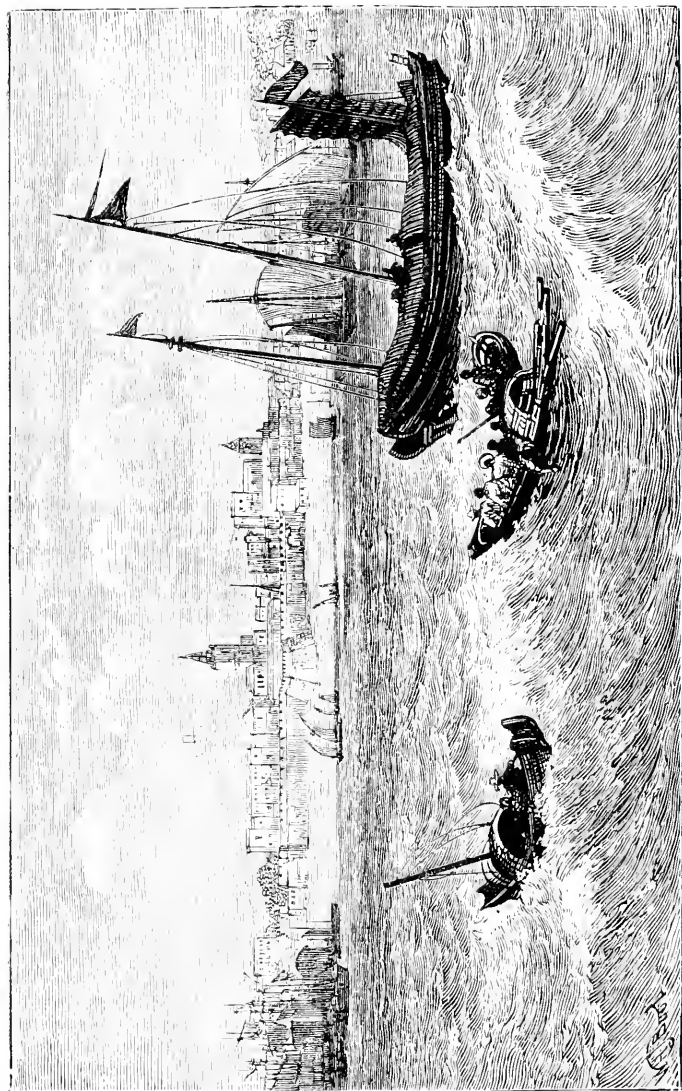
Towards the close of the year he made a military progress through the Circars, re-establishing and strengthening his influence. In April 1757 he was meditating an expedition into Bengal, when intelligence arrived that the British had attacked and captured Chandarnagar, a French settlement on the river Hugli. He plunged at once into active warfare, and marched upon Vizagapatam,¹ where an English factory had been established since the middle of the seventeenth century; after which he captured in succession the factories of Madapolam, Bandamurlanka, and Injaram, situated on the three mouths of the Godaveri. But while he was extending his conquests, his enemies had effected a revolution in the Deccan, one of Salabat Jang's brothers having usurped the royal authority, and his treacherous minister having seized upon the fortress of

¹ *Vizagapatam* ("city of Visakha," the Hindu Mars), lat. 17° 41'; population, 30,291.

Daulatabad.¹ Bussy by forced marches returned to Aurangabad, and released from confinement the old and feeble Nizam. Acting with his characteristic energy, he speedily put down the conspiracy. “The rebellious brother fled for his life, the treacherous minister perished in a tumult he had himself provoked, and the French flag speedily waved from the massive ramparts of Daulatabad. These rapid changes,” as I have elsewhere remarked, “do not seem to belong to the stately course of history so much as to the vivid pictures of romance; but then it is Oriental history which we are relating, and there is scarcely a chapter in it that does not glow with a strange excitement like that of fiction.”

Bussy was unquestionably the ablest soldier whom France had sent to India, but it fared with him as with Dupleix. The corrupt home Government was indifferent to the greatness of his services; and in the spring of 1758, when he was the virtual ruler of the Deccan, dispatched Count Lally de Tolendal to take the direction of French affairs in India. One of the earliest acts of the new governor was to recall Bussy, with the greater part of the French force, to Pondicherri. The soldier obeyed the command, and took leave of Salabat Jang, who parted from him with deep regret, calling him the guardian-angel of his life and fortune. Before his arrival, Lally had attacked, captured, and dismantled Fort St. David, and it was only the want of money to pay and provision his troops which prevented him from marching against Madras. To raise funds he put pressure upon the Raja of Tanjore, who, some seven years before, had given a bond for fifty-six lakhs of rupees to Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib. Of this bond, which had passed into the hands of the French authorities, Lally demanded payment, and enforced his demand by appearing before Tanjore with an army. The appearance of an English fleet on the coast compelled him to raise the siege; and, with his supplies reduced to a couple of days' rations and twenty cartridges for each soldier, he retreated to Pondicherri.

¹ *Daulatabad*, lat. 19° 57' N.; 28 miles N.W. of Haidarabad; population, 1243



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Here he was joined by Bussy, who endeavoured to persuade him to use his large army in extending and consolidating the influence he had built up in the Deccan ; but Lally was dreaming of expelling the English from India, and clung to Dupleix's purpose of rendering France the paramount power in the Peninsula. Having gained the consent of his council to an attempt upon Madras, he set out, in the early days of November, with 2000 French infantry, 300 French cavalry, and 5000 native troops. Bussy accompanied him as second in command ; and the four corps into which his army was divided were placed under De Soupire, D'Estaing, Crillon, and Sanbuist, men who had enjoyed some experience in warfare. He seized Conjevaram¹ on November 27th, and on December 12th pitched his tents under the walls of Madras.²

All that their limited resources permitted had been done for its defence by the English authorities. Mr. Pigott, the governor, had intrusted the needful military measures to the veteran Lawrence, while rendering him all the support in his power. The garrison consisted of 1758 Europeans, 2230 sepoys, and 200 horse, who were principally stationed in Fort St. George, though three defensive posts were held in that portion of the city known as *Black Town*. These, however, were evacuated on the French advance, and Lally took possession of the Black Town, giving it over to plunder. He then began the investment of Fort St. George. On the following day the English made a sortie in force, in which they sustained as well as inflicted a considerable loss. His siege-train coming up, Lally on the 2nd of January opened fire, and maintained a vigorous cannonade for forty-two days, while the besieged harassed him by continual attacks on the flank and rear, and kept up their defence with unwavering steadiness. A breach having been effected, Lally was on the point of ordering a general assault, when his engineers interfered, declaring that,

¹ *Conjevaram*, lat. 12° 49' N. ; 46 miles S.W. of Madras ; population, 37,275.

² *Madras* (native name *Channapatam*), lat. 13° 4' 6" N. ; population, 397,552.

“having regard to the situation of things and to our force compared with that of the enemy,” such a step meant ruin to all engaged. Before he could make new arrangements, the English fleet arrived under Admiral Pocock (February 16th), and Lally, greatly mortified, broke up his camp and fell back upon Conjevaram.

At other points also misfortune overtook the French. In the Northern Circars, Guandaraj Gujapati, who had succeeded to the Rajaship of Vijayanagar, throwing off the authority of the Nizam, took possession of Vizagapatam, hoisted British colours, and sent an envoy to Madras asking for assistance. The Government, engaged in resisting Lally’s attack, could make no favourable reply, whereupon the Raja turned to Calcutta, and Clive, who was then governor of Bengal, recognising at once the immense advantages inherent in the possession of the Sarkars, dispatched Colonel Forde with 500 Europeans, 2000 sepoy, 100 Lascars, and 18 guns, to Vizagapatam (October 12th). The French, under the command of the Marquis de Conflans, Bussy’s successor, awaited his approach at Condore (Chandurti), where they took up a strong position. Their numerical strength was greatly superior, 500 Europeans, 6000 sepoy, and a large body of local troops, including 300 cavalry. But Forde lost not a moment in attacking them with his native troops, while his English battalion was held as a reserve behind the tall stalks of an Indian cornfield. By an ingenious manœuvre the French were drawn from their intrenchments in pursuit of the sepoy, when they were taken in flank by the English, and driven into disorderly flight, with the loss of thirty pieces of ordnance, and six officers and seventy men killed. M. de Conflans rode away to Rajamahendri, and reached it at night-fall, after galloping forty miles without having drawn rein (December 8th).

This great victory delivered the Northern Sarkars from French domination. Forde continued his advance, and occupied Rajamahendri, De Conflans retreating to Masulipatam. Having rested and refreshed his troops, Forde resumed his march, though his spies brought him word that

Salabat Jang was preparing to overwhelm him with an army of 20,000 foot and 15,000 horse. Rapidly pressing forward, and leaving the Subadar's army on his right, he reached Masulipatam; and on the night of the 17th, forming his small force into three divisions, stormed the fort and compelled Conflans to surrender. This was a feat of arms of which any general might have been proud. The prisoners, when mustered, were found to exceed considerably in number those to whom they had submitted.

Its consequences were momentous. In less than a week M. Moraim, with a reinforcement of 300 European troops, arrived off Masulipatam; but finding it in the hands of the English, he proceeded to Ganjam, which, however, he abandoned before the end of the year. Salabat Jang, observant of the rapid decay of the French power, opened up negotiations with Colonel Forde, and concluded a treaty by which, in return for the English alliance, he ceded to the Company the Northern Sarkars, and undertook that no French force should ever again be allowed in the Deccan.

Not less rapid was the downfall of the French in the Karnatic, a country which for upwards of a century had been under their immediate influence. The disorder which prevailed at Pondicherry compelled Count Lally to hand over the command of the army to M. de Soupire, while he himself returned to the capital. An English force under Major Brereton, having deceived De Soupire by a feigned movement against Wandiwash, swiftly advanced upon Conjevaram, of which they gained possession before the French became aware of their march. Later in the year, however, they met with a reverse at Wandiwash,¹ and the command was soon afterwards assumed by Sir Eyre Coote. The difficulties of the French at this time were very grave. Their soldiers were penniless, in rags, and half-starved. Suspecting their officers of keeping back their pay, they broke out into open mutiny at Wandiwash on the 27th of October, abandoned their quarters, and marched six miles in the direction of Madras. By active

¹ *Wandiwash* (*Vandivasu*), lat. 62° 30'; in Madras Presidency; population, 4130.

exertions, and by conceding all they demanded, Lally contrived to recall them to their colours; and mustering them at Arcot, where Bussy joined him with 350 Europeans and 2000 native irregulars, he levied a body of 2000 Maratha horsemen, and opened the campaign which was to decide so many important issues.

Battle of Wandiwash, 1760.

Early in January 1760 he advanced against Conjevaram which he took and pillaged. He then marched on to Tirupatur, where he left Bussy with the main body of his army, while he took with him 600 Europeans and some native troops on an expedition against Wandiwash. The fort there occupies the centre of the town, which is defended by a wall flanked with small towers, and covered by a hedge and a ditch. It was Lally's intention to surprise the town and carry it by a *coup de main*, and, under cover of the narrow streets, to plant a battery close to the fort, which he hoped to bombard into surrendering before Sir Eyre Coote could come up. In his first design he was successful, but there his good fortune stopped. A delay took place in the erection of the battery, and, in the meantime, the British bayonets flashed upon the scene. The only alternatives before the French commander were to fight or retreat. He was of too impetuous a spirit to adopt the latter, and therefore sent messengers to hasten up to his assistance Bussy and his division (January 21, 1760). When the junction was effected, he had under him a force of 2250 European infantry and 300 European cavalry, 1350 sepoy and 3000 Marathas; while Coote could muster no more than 1900 Europeans (including 80 horsemen) and 2350 sepoy infantry and cavalry.

Coote was a veteran captain, of proved ability and conduct. He drew up his forces in three lines: the first was extended so as to outflank the enemy's position, turn his intrenchments, and keep open communication with the garrison of Wandiwash; the second, which covered a much smaller area, was composed of picked troops; and the third formed a reserve

of cavalry, of which, however, only the Europeans could be depended upon. Lally's army consisted of a single line, the left of which, considerably thrown forward, rested on a tank, and being supported by an intrenchment on the other side of it, formed an obtuse angle with the main body, so as to sweep the ground over which the English advance must be made. About four hundred yards in the rear-centre were two defiles, guarded by fifty men and a couple of guns. The remaining guns were posted at intervals, and were sixteen in number. The command of the left wing was given to Bussy; Lally retained for himself that of the right and centre.

As the solid British ranks came in sight, the French artillery opened upon them effectively. It seemed to Lally that they reeled under the storm of bullets, and, with characteristic impetuosity, he decided on a charge. Galloping up to the right, he placed himself at the head of the cavalry, and got them, after some hesitation, to move forward; but receiving a warm salute of grape-shot from a couple of the English cannon, they fell into a panic, and dashed off the field full speed. The French general turned to his infantry, formed them into column, and, under a hot cannonade, led them against the British position. One regiment rushed forward with a vehemence which broke through the opposing battalions; but swiftly hurrying up with reinforcements, Coote sent them against the flank of the assailants, throwing them into dire disorder. About the same time a tumbril blew up on the French left, killing and wounding eighty men; and Coote took advantage of the consequent confusion to hurl his massed troops upon the intrenchment, carrying it with a rush, and smashing up the formation of the French battle. Bussy was made prisoner; and, in spite of Lally's efforts, the broken regiments took to flight in irretrievable confusion, leaving victory and its spoils with Coote's gallant little army. The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners was upwards of 600: that of the English did not exceed 190. Eighteen guns were captured, with a large quantity of ammunition, tents, stores, and baggage of every kind.

Lally fell back in haste upon the strong fortress of Gingi, and,

as Coote continued his advance, upon Valdavar, but obtained no rest until he encamped his dispirited soldiery within the hedge that then bounded Pondicherri (April 15). The British commander was unaware of the destitute condition of the French capital, or he might have directed his army against it and captured it before Lally, with his beaten battalions, could have come up to its defence. But he resolved on the reduction of all the lesser settlements of the French before he attacked them in their chief stronghold. One by one they submitted at his approach—Arcot, Devikota, Trincomali, Alamparai, Karikal, Valdavar, and Cuddalore. On the 1st of May, the *fleur-de-lis* in India flew only on the ramparts of the fortresses of Gingi and Tiagar, and from the walls of the city of Pondicherri. Great discord at this time prevailed in the French councils. While Lally Tollendal openly expressed his contempt for the civil authorities, they on their part did what they could to thwart his measures. The roar of the British guns could be heard from the wall, but these men were too absorbed in their jealousies and selfish rivalries to take heed of the warning. “Self-interest was the predominant passion, before which love of country and national pride and the sense of honour disappeared. Lally alone vindicated the character of his country and his own fame.” With untiring energy he endeavoured to provision the city for a siege of some months. He applied for assistance to Haidar Ali, the commander of the Mysore armies, who sent him 5000 infantry and 3000 horses, but recalled them at the end of four weeks. About the middle of July Coote completed the investment; whereupon Lally vindicated his reputation as a brave and an able soldier. He arranged the details of a night-surprise of the British lines with so much skill and secrecy, that Coote had no idea of it until he found himself simultaneously attacked both on the right and left, and one of his most important redoubts in the enemy’s hands. But for the chance that the third column, intended to act against the British rear, lost its way and failed to co-operate, Lally would probably have succeeded in raising the siege. The columns actively engaged, however, lost heart when they found themselves

unsupported, fell into confusion, and were repulsed with great slaughter.

Orme, in his account of this siege, relates how at this juncture a squadron arrived from England, bringing instructions to Coote to hand over the command of the troops to Major Monson, while he himself proceeded to take up the command of the army in Bengal. Monson was a capable officer, and not unworthy of promotion, but there was a general feeling in the Presidency that the transference should not have been made at such a moment. Colonel Coote, however, necessarily obeyed orders, and Monson then put into execution a favourite plan, by which he hoped to drive the enemy from the boundary hedge, and the batteries and redoubts that guarded it. Delivering a formidable attack under cover of night, he forced the French back upon the glacis, though at a serious cost of life. In the fierce fighting that took place he was badly wounded, and at his urgent request Coote resumed the command; who, on appearing in the trenches on the 20th of September, was hailed with great enthusiasm by the troops, both Europeans and natives. Redoubled vigour appeared in the prosecution of the advanced works, and the enemy's communications with the open country being cut off, while a strict blockade was kept up from the sea by the fleet under Admiral Stevens, the besieged soon found themselves in peril of starvation. On the 4th of January 1761 Lally offered to capitulate if favourable terms were granted; but Coote demanded an unconditional surrender, and on the 6th the French submitted. The victorious army entered the city by the Villeneuve gate, and in the evening took possession of the citadel. Colonel Coote then reviewed the defeated garrison, whose numbers had been reduced to 1100, all of whom bore traces of disease, famine, or fatigue.

The fall of Pondicherri was quickly followed by that of Tiagar (February 4th), Mahé (February 13th), and Gingi (April 5th); and the French empire in India ceased to exist.¹

"Thus ended a war," says Gleig, "which, at its commence-

¹ Orme, *History of Military Transactions in Indostan*; James Mill, *History of British India*; Colonel Malleon, *The French in India*.

ment, promised to lead to widely different results. It inflamed to the highest pitch the already irritated feelings of the French Company, who, as a matter of course, cast the whole blame of failure upon Lally, whilst a feeble and corrupt Government readily espoused the cause of numbers against a single brave man, who had nothing to urge in his own defence except the truth. Lally returned home to suffer a fate which stamps with indelible disgrace the character of his judges. He was cast into prison (where he lingered three years), tried, condemned, and executed with an indecent haste, of which it may with truth be asserted that none except the Parisians could be guilty."

The English demolished the town ; forts, public buildings, walls, all were destroyed. The prisoners and all Europeans in the French Company's service were conveyed to France.

Two years later the Treaty of Paris restored Pondicherri with their other settlements to the French, but with territories considerably curtailed. In 1778 it again fell into British hands. A gallant effort was made in 1782 by the distinguished seaman M. de Suffren to restore the fortunes of his countrymen, fighting four battles with our fleets in seven months, and retaking Trincomali. Next year the French, by the Treaty of Versailles, had their own again. But in 1793, and again in 1803, the English Company retook their settlements ; and during the great war with Napoleonic France, not a single tricolor shook out its folds to Indian breezes.

Restored to the French by the treaties of 1814 and 1815, the following five settlements, Pondicherri, Chandarnagar, Kariikal, Mahé, Yunaon, are now under the administration of a governor, whose residence is at Pondicherri. He is assisted by a minister of the interior, secretaries in the different departments, and a principal judicial officer. In 1879 local councils and a council-general were established, and in 1880 ten municipalities or communal boards. The judicial administration comprises civil and criminal courts, courts of first instance, and a court of appeal. The total yearly revenue may be taken at £87,000. The exports and imports in 1883 were returned at £1,067,009.

Pondicherry is a handsome and well-built town, traversed by broad, airy streets, and presenting an attractive combination of French and Indian characteristics; "a happy mixture of those two characters," says Grandidier, "which are everywhere recognised when the French or Spanish race is compelled to live with a native population." The houses are usually separated from the promenade by small courts, brightened with shrubberies and parterres of flowers. Their appearance is much impaired by the cryptogamic vegetation covering them in large patches, which needs to be cleared away every year. After this depurgatory process, everything looks fresh and clear for two or three months, when the whiteness again disappears under the network of lichens, which extends in every direction, and soon coats the entire surface.

The town is divided by a canal into two parts, the Black Town, which is the business quarter and the less attractive, and the White Town, which spreads along the seaside. On the esplanade stands a statue of Duplex,—and there should be one of Bussy, who was a greater soldier if an inferior statesman. The chief public buildings are the Government house, the parish church, the Foreign Missions church, two pagodas, the new bazaar, the clock-tower, the lighthouse, the barracks, the military hospital, and the Hôtel-de-ville. Population, 140,945.





CHAPTER I.

ROBERT, LORD CLIVE, 1758–1767.

The British in Bengal—Battle of Plassey.

THE reader's attention, hitherto confined to the affairs of the Madras Presidency, must now be directed to the events which established British supremacy in Bengal.

The British flag was first hoisted at Pippli, in Orissa, on the Subarnarekha river, where a Portuguese settlement had formerly existed; but the river-mouth is now silted up, and the site of the English factory cannot be accurately indicated. This was in 1634. Six years later a factory was opened at Hugli, in 1642 another at Balasore, and in 1681 our possessions were of sufficient importance to justify the erection of Bengal into a separate Presidency, though subordinate to that of Madras. The name of Calcutta does not occur in the records of the East India Company until 1686, when, as already related, Job Charnock, the governor, having been driven out of Hugli by the Muhammadan authorities, settled lower down the river on the opposite bank, acquired a grant of the three small villages of Sutanati, Gobindpur, and Kalighat (Calcutta), and in 1696 erected the original Fort William.

The famous Mughal emperor Aurangzeb died in 1707. The then Nawab or governor of Bengal was Murshid Kuli Khan, better known to European historians as Jafar Khan. A Brahman by birth, he had been brought up a slave in India, and had made his way to the front by sheer force of character and vigour of intellect. Having embraced Muhammadanism,

he displayed all the fanatical zeal of a convert, which, however, did not interfere with his success as an able administrator. He removed the capital of Bengal from Dacca, on the eastern frontier, to Murshidabad,¹ on the left bank of the Bhagirathi, a more central position for the management of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. It was situated also on the new trade-route, along which the treasures of India were finding their way to the European settlements on the Hugli, and it commanded the town of Kasimbazar, where the English, French, and Dutch had important factories, though the principal settlements of the three nations were Calcutta, Chandarnagar, and Chinsurah. These three settlements lay close to one another, upon reaches of the Hugli, navigable for sea-going ships, Calcutta being about 80 miles from the sea, Chandarnagar 24 miles above Calcutta, and Chinsurah 2 miles above Chandarnagar.

Murshid Kuli Khan governed Bengal successfully for one-and-twenty years, transmitting his power to his son-in-law, who in his turn handed it to his son. But in 1740 the throne was usurped by Ali Vardi Khan (1740-1756), a man of large capacity, and the last of the great Bengal Nawabs. During his prosperous reign the Maratha cavalry, who had swept over India from the Kaveri to the Indus, made frequent inroads into Bengal, and the English in Calcutta obtained permission to build the earthwork known to this day as the "Maratha Ditch" to ward off their attacks. Ali Vardi Khan was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah), a youth of eighteen, cruel, profligate, and of an ungovernable temper (April 9, 1756), who, within two months of his accession, came into collision with the English.

On assuming his high dignity, the young Nawab found himself threatened by a competitor—a young man like himself, and of as notoriously bad a character—his cousin, Shauket Jang, governor of Purniah, who had intrigued with the court at Delhi to obtain the succession. Collecting a large army, Siraj-ud-Daula prepared to crush his kinsman; but his anger

¹ *Murshidabad*, lat. 24° 11' 5" N.; population, 39,231; has a fine Imambara or mosque, and the Nawab's palace.

was suddenly diverted towards the English settlement at Calcutta, the fortifications of which Mr. Drake, the governor, had refused to demolish. After making himself master of the factory at Kasimbazar and taking prisoner its chief, he advanced against Calcutta, which was wholly unprepared to resist so formidable an enemy. Fort William itself was in a feeble condition, and garrisoned by only 174 European soldiers, who had no experience of war, and 1500 sepoys, who were hastily armed with matchlocks. The Nawab's army, 50,000 men of all arms, invested the place on the 17th of June, and on the following day captured a battery or two which had been thrown up in front of the fort. The governor, who was not endowed with the resolution of a Clive, attempted no defence, but early on the morning of the 19th embarked with the women and children, and as many others as could crowd into the boats, and was taken on board some vessels in the river, which immediately weighed anchor and dropped down two miles below the fort. The curses of those whom their governor and comrades had thus shamefully deserted were deep if not loud ; but the imminence of the danger united them in a common bond of sympathy, and the 170 Europeans left in the fort resolved to defend it to the last extremity, and elected one of their number, a Mr. Holwell, to act as their chief. For two days and nights they made a brave resistance, frequently exhibiting signals of distress to the vessels in the reach. These might easily have carried off the gallant little company, but not one of them moved to their relief. On the 21st a flag of truce arrived from the Nawab, and Mr. Holwell, knowing that the defence could not longer be sustained, agreed to a parley, of which the enemy took advantage to occupy the fort.

Mr. Holwell was brought before the Nawab, who, after complaining of the small amount he had found in the treasury, ordered him to be unbound, and dismissed him with a promise of protection—a promise he undoubtedly intended to fulfil ; but the Muhammadan officers in whose custody the English prisoners had been placed not being able to find suitable accommodation for them, thrust them into the “Black Hole,”

or garrison prison, a room about eighteen feet square, with only two small iron-barred windows. One hundred and forty-six English men and women shut up for a stifling night in June in this unwholesome and unventilated cell! To all of them it meant torture; to most of them death. They poisoned their own atmosphere; it became fouller with every breath they drew. Then with thirst and heat and pain they went almost mad. Some perished in a hopeless effort to reach the windows, others offered bribes to their guards, but in vain, to supply a little cold water, or remove them to a larger place of confinement. Gradually the horrid sounds of groans and gasps and sighs, and mingled prayers and imprecations, died down into silence; and when, in the early morning, the prison-door was opened, only three-and-twenty poor creatures staggered out of that inferno alive, and these with such ghastly and distorted features that their own mothers would hardly have recognised them.

This cruel sacrifice of life was not ordered or anticipated, it is true, by the young Nawab; but when he was made acquainted with it, he showed no sign of emotion, nor did he punish the men to whose callous indifference it was chiefly owing. The survivors were lodged in airier apartments, but their food was only grain and water. The conqueror, for such he considered himself, addressed an arrogant letter to the Mughal emperor, in which he described, with true Oriental grandiloquence, his victory over the English. He placed a garrison in Fort William; prohibited Europeans from settling in the district; and, after renaming Calcutta as Alinagar, "the port of God," returned to Murshidabad.

Happily Clive was at Madras when the news of this disaster reached it, having recently returned from England. He was immediately placed in command of a force of 900 Europeans and 1500 sepoy, who were embarked on board five of the Company's vessels and a squadron of five men-of-war, under Admiral Watson (October 10, 1761), and conveyed to the scene of action.

But before I continue my recital, I must say a few words on the parentage and early years of the remarkable man

whom this expedition was to crown with lasting fame. Robert Clive was the eldest son of Richard Clive of Styche, near Market Drayton, and was born in the manor-house of Styche on the 29th of September 1725. In his fourth year he passed into the charge of an uncle, a Mr. Bayley, of Hope Hill, near Manchester, who treated him with great kindness, but was much perplexed by the boy's high spirit and impetuosity of character. He had not been cast in the ordinary mould, and Mr. Bayley, who had been, could not understand him. "I am satisfied," he writes, "that his fighting (to which he is out of measure addicted) gives his temper a fierceness and imperiousness that he flies out upon every trifling occasion; for this reason I do what I can to suppress the hero [happily the good man did not succeed] that I may help forward the more valuable qualities of meekness, benevolence, and patience." It may have been due to his pugnacity that he was removed so frequently from school to school, in each displaying the same distinctive qualities—an exceptional daring and a strong love of excitement—and in each giving promise of something much better when the effervescence of youth died down. "If my scholar live to be a man," said Dr. Eaton, one of his masters, "and opportunity enable him to exert his talents, few names will be greater than his."

In the case of a great man, it is always interesting to observe what hint or suggestion of his future was given in his earlier years. The anecdotes told of Clive are, from this point of view, not without value. When a schoolboy at Market Drayton, for the sake of removing a smooth stone from a water-spout, with which to play at "ducks and drakes," he climbed to the summit of the church-steeple, and lowered himself some three feet over the projecting battlement. Again, he and a band of juvenile brigands exacted contributions from the shopkeepers as compensation for abstaining from breaking their windows and otherwise doing them harm and annoyance. On one occasion they had resolved to divert a watercourse into the premises of a tradesman who refused to pay his blackmail. The dam which had been made for this purpose suddenly gave way. Clive at once threw himself into the

channel, and with his body stopped up the breach until materials for repairing it could be got together. In the cool readiness, the tenacity, and the courage which these incidents reveal we cannot but see the qualities that made Clive in after life the defender of Arcot and the hero of Plassey.

As well yoke the horses of the sun to a lumbering waggon as crib and confine a spirit like this to the drudgery of a lawyer's office—drudgery useful and honourable in its way, but fit only for more patient tempers and less-aspiring minds. It is not to be pretended that the elder Clive foresaw, in however faint a vision, the future greatness of his son ; nor, indeed, had that son given any unmistakable evidence of latent intellectual gifts ; but in procuring for him a writership in the East India Company's service, his father, as it so happened, opened up the career which was best adapted to develop whatever there was in him of higher and better mark, though probably, at the time, his chief concern was to disembarass himself of a youth whom he was unable to control. Clive was in his eighteenth year when he sailed for India. The voyage, including a long detention in the Brazils, occupied a twelvemonth ; and it was not until the autumn of 1744 that he arrived at Madras. The unexpected delay had wasted his resources, and, unfortunately, a gentleman to whom he was accredited had given up work in India and returned to England. Friendless and penniless, Clive discharged his official duties with correctness, but with a reserve and an irritable pride which offended both his superiors and his colleagues. Having quarrelled with an official in such a manner as to commit a grave offence against discipline, the governor ordered him to apologise. He was forced to obey ; but when the official, to show that he had been inspired by no personal feelings, afterwards invited him to dinner, " No, sir," he replied ; " the Governor required me to apologise, but he did not command me to dine with you."

It is also recorded of him that he was subject to occasional accesses of a kind of black melancholy ; but I am not sure that this is anything unusual in the case of a young man conscious of capacity and brimful of energy, with no obvious outlets for

either. As we grow older we grow more patient, and as we hope for less we are less often disappointed; but youth is ever sanguine, and therefore restless. Clive, it is evident, was one of those men who require continuous action to brace them up and keep them from falling into despondency and soul-weariness. He seems to have suffered at times from home-fever. "I have not enjoyed one happy day," he writes, "since I left my native country." And again: "I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native England, it affects me in a very particular manner." And yet again: "If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own country, but more especially Manchester (the centre of all my wishes), all that I could hope for or desire would be presented before me in one view." One reads a somewhat apocryphal story to the effect that, in one of his gloomy fits, he had shut himself into his chamber, where a friend who obtained admission found him seated at a table with a pistol before him. "Take that pistol," said Clive, "and fire it out of the window." His friend did so. On hearing the report, Clive sprang from his chair, exclaiming, "Well, I am reserved for something! That pistol I have twice snapped at my own head." This seems to me the invention of an enemy, and I am not inclined to credit its authenticity.

The capture of Madras by the French in 1746 proved the turning-point in Clive's career. In the disguise of a Muhammadan he had escaped from the town and found his way to Fort St. David. Here he abandoned the monotony of civilian life, and sought and obtained a commission in the East India Company's army (1747). Of Clive the young officer one anecdote is told, upon much more satisfactory authority than that of Clive the writer, that when playing at cards with two of his brother officers, he detected them in unfair dealings, and at once refused to pay the sums he had lost. A quarrel necessarily ensued, and, as a satisfaction for his wounded honour, one of the officers challenged him. They met without seconds, and Clive, gaining the first fire, discharged his pistol fruitlessly. His opponent, walking up, held his weapon at Clive's head and desired him to ask his life. Clive complied, but refused most energetically when the successful combatant

went further, insisting that he should retract the charge and apologise for having made it. "Then I will shoot you," exclaimed the officer. "Shoot, and be d——d," rejoined Clive, with composure. "I said you cheated; I say so still, and I will never pay you." The astonished opponent flung his weapon away, declaring that the young man was mad. This generosity was not wasted upon Clive, who declined, under great pressure, to prefer a complaint against the gamester. "I will not do him an injury," he said; "I will not pay money which was unfairly won; but he gave me my life, and shall take no hurt from me under any circumstances."

Brilliant was his courage and military ardour when attached as a volunteer to Admiral Boscawen's abortive expedition against Pondicherri (1748). He commanded one of the advanced batteries in front of the enemy's works. In the course of the firing his ammunition gave out, and eager that no time should be lost, he himself hastened to the rear to bring up a new supply. As it was unusual for an officer to undertake such a duty, one of his comrades, whether in jest or earnest, insinuated that he had found the post too hot for him. Clive angrily demanded an explanation, and when no satisfactory one was forthcoming, sent the offender a challenge. As the parties moved to the ground a fresh dispute arose, and grew so vehement that Clive's opponent struck him a blow. Clive's sword was out of its sheath in a moment, but the place being public, further proceedings were for the time prevented. An inquiry having been set on foot by the authorities, the person who had struck the blow was declared guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and compelled to offer a public apology. With this Clive was not content; the insult of the blow galled him intolerably; but his adversary refused to meet him, and Clive, seizing a favourable opportunity, shook his cane over his head and pronounced him too contemptible a coward to be beaten.

In April 1749 we find him attached as a volunteer to the expedition under Major Lawrence which was sent to restore the deposed Raja of Tanjore, on a promise of the cession of

Devikota.¹ A force of 430 Europeans and 1000 sepoy's under Captain Cope had previously been dispatched, but owing to various misadventures had had to return unsuccessful. Major Lawrence's expedition was of greater strength numerically, and better led. The fort, a mile in circumference, with walls eighteen feet high, was reinvested, and a practicable breach having been effected by the fire of the British guns, an assault was ordered. Lieutenant Clive solicited and received permission to lead the forlorn hope. While moving forward, his little company was surprised by a body of the enemy's cavalry, and out of thirty-four Europeans only four escaped alive; but the sepoy's steadily stood their ground until Major Lawrence was able to bring up the reserves. The fort speedily surrendered, and the campaign soon afterwards terminated.

Clive then returned to the civil branch of the service; being placed in the position he would, as a matter of course, have attained if he had never buckled on the sword. But a severe attack of nervous fever prostrated him, and he was compelled during the cold season to retire to the warmer climate of Bengal. In the following year (1751) the threatening position of affairs recalled him to the field, and as commissary, with the rank of captain, he accompanied the force dispatched to the relief of Trichinopoli when it was besieged by Chanda Sahib and his French allies. The events that followed—the defence of Arcot, the victory of Kaveripak, the reduction of the strong fortresses of Covelong and Chingalpat—I have already described. He returned to Madras in triumph, and towards the close of the year (1752) was married to Miss Margaret Maskelyne, the sister of the eminent astronomer of that name. But impaired health imposed on him the necessity of change of scene, and in February 1753 he arrived with his wife in England.

Need I say that the young hero of Arcot and of so many well-fought fields received the welcome! and the applause which his services demanded? At a public entertainment the directors of the East India Company drank to the health of

¹ *Devikota*, lat. 11° 22' N., a small ruined fort at the mouth of the Coleroon river.

“General Clive ;” and they presented him with a sword of honour, set with diamonds, of the value of £500. In society he was, of course, “a lion,” and at court his name was always mentioned with admiration. From his own family he naturally received the warmest expressions of regard ; and even his father withdrew his old unfavourable opinion, and admitted that, “after all, the booby had sense.” Towards his relatives he behaved with a splendid generosity. He redeemed a mortgage which encumbered his father’s estate, and secured to his parents a comfortable income for the remainder of their lives. Then he felt free to indulge his natural taste for display, to dress splendidly, though his figure was not adapted for splendid costumes ; to clothe his servants in sumptuous liveries ; to keep up a gorgeous equipage, and to give costly banquets ; until they who had admired his ability and respected his achievements were constrained to smile at his vulgar and ill-considered ostentation ; and the more malignant inquired how he had contrived in the few years he had served in India to accumulate the wealth which he expended so lavishly.

In 1755, when war between England and France was hanging in the balance, Clive felt drawn towards the scenes of his early successes. It is needless to say that the services of such a man were promptly accepted both by the Government and the East India Company. The latter appointed him governor of Fort St. David ; the former conferred upon him a lieutenant-colonel’s commission in the regular army. He left England in high spirits, taking with him three companies of the Royal Artillery and 300 infantry. At Bombay Admiral Watson’s squadron was lying, and, in conjunction with that brave old seaman, he resolved on the reduction of the great Muhammadan sea-fortress of Gheria (or Viziadrug), about 170 miles south of Bombay, which, some sixty years before, was the stronghold of the pirate chief Angria, and was still frequented by a swarm of murderous corsairs. Clive captured the fortress on the 13th of February 1756, and afterwards dismantled it, while Admiral Watson burned every ship of the piratical fleet. The booty gained on this occasion was valued at ten lakhs of rupees. After taking and demolishing

some smaller forts, Clive sailed for Fort St. David, where he arrived on the 20th of June 1756.

Such was the man, then in his thirty-first year, who assumed the command of the expedition intended to recover the Company's possessions in Bengal and avenge the massacre of the "Black Hole."

Clive's Campaign against Siraj-ud-Daula, 1757.

On the 2nd of January 1757 Clive captured the small fort of Baj-Baj (Budge-Budge); a week later he recovered Hugli and was in full march upon Calcutta. The surprise of the Nawab was not less than his indignation at the reappearance of the pestilent infidels whom he had expelled from his dominions, and with a host of 40,000 men, foot and horse, he prepared to drive them into the sea. Clive made proposals of peace, but they were contumeliously rejected, and without hesitation he accepted the arbitrament of the sword. Well acquainted with the Indian temperament, he did not wait to be attacked, but, reinforcing his little army with 600 marines, boldly advanced against the Nawab's camp, which was situated on the north-east side of the capital. In a thick fog he wandered from his intended line of march, and plunged into the very midst of the Nawab's masses. After much fierce fighting he cut his way back into the town, but not without a loss of 200 men. The audacity of the attempt, however, so impressed Siraj-ud-Daula, that he intimated to Clive his desire for peace, and a treaty was concluded which restored to the Company all their privileges, and made ample compensation for their losses.

The British, on regaining possession of Calcutta, found that many of the houses of the English residents had been demolished, and others much injured by fire. The old church of St. John's was a heap of ruins. Everything of value had been swept away, except the Company's merchandise within the fort, which had been reserved for the Nawab. Commerce, however, soon revived, and, with characteristic British energy, the ruined city was rebuilt. The old fort was abandoned, and

on its site were erected the customs-house and other Government offices. A new Fort William (the present) was begun by Clive a little lower down the Hugli; it was not completed until 1773, and it is said to have cost £2,000,000. About this time was formed the Maidan, or park, which forms one of the most picturesque and varied promenades in the world, and the healthiness of its position induced a gradual westward migration of the European inhabitants to what is now called the Chauringhi (Chowringhee) quarter.

Calcutta has been called "a city of palaces," and no doubt the mansions in the European district present a stately and splendid appearance. Chauringhi is lined with magnificent examples, not more than sixty occupying a line of road of a mile and a half in extent. The public buildings are also worthy of the imperial capital, such as the Government House, built by the Marquis Wellesley, who said, "India should be governed from a palace, not from a counting-house; with the ideas of a prince, and not those of a retail dealer in muslins and indigo;" the Town Hall, built in 1804, the High Court, completed in 1872, and the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, consecrated in 1847. There are monuments to Sir David Ochterlony, "for fifty years a soldier, who had served in every Indian war from the time of Haidar downwards;" Sir James Outram, "the Bayard of the East;" Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835), Lord Hardinge (1844-1848), Lord Lawrence (1864-1868), and Lord Mayo (1869-1872), four of the most eminent of Indian Governors-General.

Calcutta, as the traveller now sees it, dates from 1757. No episode of disaster, no outbreak of rebellion, has since occurred to arrest or retard its progressive prosperity. No natural calamity has effected any injury which could not be quickly repaired. "The great park (*Maidan*), intersected by roads and ornamented by a public garden, stretches along the river-bank. The fort rises from the Maidan on its east side, and defends it from the river approach; the stately mansions of Chauringhi line its eastern flank; while Government House, the Gothic High Court, the domed Post Office, and other public buildings, tower in fine architectural masses

at its northern end. Beyond the European quarter lie the densely populated clusters of huts or 'villages,' which compose the native city and suburbs. Several squares, with large reservoirs and gardens, adorn the city, and broad, well-metalled streets connect its various extremities."

Battle of Plassey, 1757.

For a while peace prevailed between the Nawab and the British. But each was suspicious of the other, and while Clive urgently recommended the home authorities to collect an efficient army in Bengal, the Nawab was carrying on secret negotiations with the French generals in the Deccan. On receiving intelligence of the declaration of war between England and France, Clive resolved on immediate action. The French settlement at Chandarnagar had always been a cause of heartburning to the merchants of Calcutta, as, from its position, twenty miles higher up the Hugli, it tapped the larger portion of the inland trade, while its large garrison constituted a standing danger. Its capture was therefore decided upon. Admiral Watson with his squadron ascended the river and opened up an energetic bombardment, while Clive invested it on the land side. The operations began on March 12th; on March 23rd the town surrendered, and its houses and fortifications were afterwards demolished. The importance of this bold movement was fully appreciated by Clive, who had exclaimed, when his decision was made, "If we take Chandarnagar, we cannot stop there!" He saw that it would precipitate hostilities with the Nawab, who might justifiably complain of so flagrant a violation of his rights as suzerain, while at the same time the Company would be engaged in war with the French.

For some time Siraj-ud-Daula vacillated between fear and hatred. If one day he sent sums of money to Calcutta as a peace-offering, on another he dispatched a gift of jewels to Bussy, imploring him to march at once against Clive, "the daring in war, on whom," said the Nawab, with pious fervour, "may every ill-fortune wait!" He stationed his army at

Plassey, as if in preparation for an advance on Calcutta, but he hesitated to pronounce the fatal order. He tore Clive's letters into fragments, and yet replied to them in language of excessive adulation. Acting on the policy of Dupleix, Clive resolved to depose the weak, profligate, and cruel young prince, whose exactions had made him the terror of his subjects, and place on the musnad a creature of his own. A conspiracy against Siraj-ud-Daula had been formed by Mir Jafar, his commander-in-chief, and Roydallub, his finance minister, supported by Jayab Seth, the state banker of Murshidabad. They approached Clive, met with a favourable reception, and an agreement was speedily concluded, by which Clive undertook to assist in deposing Siraj-ud-Daula in favour of Mir Jafar, and in return the Company was to receive a considerable accession of territory, and its officers to be liberally rewarded. It is painful to add that while Clive was thus compassing the downfall of the Nawab, he was writing to him in language of the warmest solicitude. This language did not prevent the Nawab from suspecting that some design against him was in course of incubation; and to allay his fears until the conspirators were ready, Clive employed a rich Bengali merchant named Omichund, whose ingenious fictions completely deceived the feeble-minded prince. But Omichund had his own game to play. As the whole conspiracy was known to him, he could at any moment reveal it to the Nawab, involve the conspirators in ruin, and seriously compromise British interests. Suddenly he declared himself dissatisfied with the reward he had been promised, and demanded, as the price of his continued co-operation, thirty lakhs of rupees and a commission on all payments; and he insisted that this should be secured to him by an article to be inserted in the treaty between Clive and the conspirators. Though deeply indignant at the treachery and disgusted with the exaction, Clive affected a willing compliance, for he thought "art and policy commendable in defeating the purposes of such a villain," and he met him with a craft and cunning not unequal to his own. "Promise all that the wretch asks," he said to his confederates, "and draw up any form of agreement which

will satisfy him and make us secure against his treachery." He pointed out to them that as soon as their plot had succeeded, Omichund would cease to be dangerous, and accordingly caused two copies of the agreement or treaty to be made, in one of which, written on red paper, the conditions he demanded were inserted, while from the other and genuine document all allusion to him was omitted. The former alone was shown to him. It was not without reluctance that the members of the Council put their signatures to the sham. Admiral Watson absolutely refused, and as the absence of his name would have roused Omichund's suspicions, Clive forged it. The public conscience of the present day regards with sorrowful censure Clive's conduct throughout this unhappy transaction. It was unworthy of an English gentleman, and though Clive always asserted the integrity of his motives, and declared that "he would do it a hundred times over," we must unhesitatingly reject the principle that Oriental treachery must be met with British duplicity. Such a principle would be fatal to the best interests of our world-wide empire, the various parts of which are held together by the golden bonds of justice, good faith, and public honour.

Mir Jafar having sworn upon the Kuran that he would loyally fulfil his engagements, and having undertaken to withdraw his division from the Nawab's army on or before the day of battle, Clive addressed a letter to Siraj-ud-Daula, in which he enumerated the counts of the indictment against him, and set his little army in motion. With 1000 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and eight pieces of artillery, he arrived at Patna on the 16th of June, and dispatched Captain Eyre Coote, afterwards so well known in the history of Indian wars, to capture Cutwa; a small mud fort twelve miles higher up, which commanded the passage of the Kasimbazar, a branch of the Ganges. In the fort were found immense stores of rice, sufficient, it is said, for the supply of 10,000 men throughout a campaign. Clive then came up and encamped on the surrounding plain, but a tremendous storm on the 19th compelled him to distribute his men among the huts and villages of the neighbourhood. On the following day he received two

messages from Mir Jafar, with an assurance that he would bring over at least 3000 of the Nawab's cavalry, but Clive hardly dared to rely upon him. A council of war was summoned, and he proposed to his officers the following questions: "1. Whether, in their present situation, without assistance, it would be prudent to attack the Nawab? 2. Or whether they should wait until joined by some native power?" Councils of war never fight, and the present was no exception. By nine to six the first question was answered in the negative, and the second in the affirmative. Strange to say, Clive himself was one of the nine, so deeply did he feel the responsibilities then pressing upon him. Yet was he dissatisfied with the decision to which he had himself contributed, and wandering from the camp, he sat under a clump of trees, and spent an hour in silent meditation. His hesitation and uncertainty passed away; perhaps he saw that retreat was impossible, as it would have meant the loss of all the British interests involved in Bengal, and setting aside the vote of the timid, he issued orders to his little army to prepare for crossing the river on the morrow.

Battle of Plassey,¹ June 23, 1757.

At daybreak on the 21st his force was in motion, and by four o'clock in the afternoon the passage of the Hugli was successfully accomplished, the boats being towed against the current with indefatigable perseverance, the infantry and guns pushed forward by the river-side; and, after a march of fifteen miles, the army bivouacked about three in the morning of the 23rd in a mango-grove or small wood near the little village of Plassey, so near to the Nawab's camp that the sounds of his drums and cymbals were distinctly audible.

The Nawab's camp had been erected during the siege of Chandarnagar. The waters of the Bhagarathi protected it on three of its sides; on the fourth, it was partly defended by an artificial trench. The means of advantageous cover were

¹ *Plassey* (*Palási*, from *palás*, the red flower of the *Butea frondosa*), lat. 23° 47' N.; 96 miles N. from Calcutta.

everywhere supplied by tangled thickets and wooded knolls. Siraj-ud-Daula, however, did not know how to avail himself of the natural advantages of his position, or disdained to use them in reliance on his overwhelming numbers. At six in the morning he poured his masses out upon the plain : 35,000 infantry, armed with pike and firelock, with sword and musket, or with bow and arrow, and 15,000 horsemen well mounted and equipped, were assembled under his standard. He began the battle with a fierce fire from 53 pieces of artillery, each drawn by a team of white oxen, and impelled in the rear by a powerful elephant ; but Clive kept his men well under shelter, “in a large grove surrounded with good mud-banks,” and replied briskly with his eight field-pieces, which, served by some English artillerymen and fifty sailors from Admiral Watson’s fleet, wrought terrible havoc in the enemy’s crowded ranks. At noon the Nawab’s troops retired into the intrenched camp for dinner. Clive in his own mind hoped to make a successful attack under cover of night ; and, worn out with fatigue, had lain down to get some sleep, directing his officers to rouse him up if any movement became perceptible among the enemy. They awakened him with the news that Siraj-ud-Daula was retiring. He saw that the men were busy with their cooking-pots, and hurling a division of his best soldiers at one of their advanced posts, which had caused him some annoyance, he stormed an “angle of their camp.” In the desperate combat that ensued some of the Nawab’s chief officers fell ; and the Nawab himself, panic-stricken by the unexpected turn of the battle, mounted a swift camel, and, attended by 2000 horsemen, fled from the field. Then all was over. The Nawab’s ill-disciplined masses broke from their ranks and dispersed in all directions. Mir Jafar’s cavalry, which had hovered undecided during the battle, and had been repeatedly fired upon by Clive, “to make them keep their distance,” joined the British camp, and the road to Murshidabad lay open. This great victory, which history has adopted as the beginning of our imperial annals in the East, cost the British only 23 killed and 49 wounded. Of the enemy the loss was not more than 500 slain, owing to the rapidity of their flight.

The popular imagination has been touched by the vast disproportion between the small British force at Plassey and the immense army of the Nawab. Hence a romantic interest has attached to a battle which, in itself, was by no means remarkable—a battle, moreover, which was not so decisive as is sometimes affirmed, since some years of hard fighting elapsed before even the Bengalis admitted the superiority of the British arms. A battle one can hardly call it; it was a skirmish or an ineffective artillery duel, terminated by Clive's act of inspiration, his opportune advance, and by the panic which shivered to pieces the Nawab's unwieldy and ill-compacted host on the shameful flight of their sovereign. The noteworthy thing about it was Clive's daring in fighting at all; but he relied to some extent on Mir Jafar's promised defection, and his experience of Indian warfare had taught him the inability of the native armies to withstand the resolute charge of a well-disciplined European force.

Siraj-ud-Daula fled from Plassey to Murshidabad, where he took shelter in the gorgeous palace he had erected at Mitij-chit, or the Pearl Lake; but finding himself deserted by his court, he assumed the disguise of a peasant's dress, and, attended only by a eunuch and his favourite wife, the Begam Lutf-ul-nissa, embarked at night in a little boat for Behar, where he hoped to find M. Law, the French general. Landing at Rajmahal for some refreshment, he chanced to enter the hut of a fakir whose ears had been cut off by his orders some months before. The fakir had his revenge; he immediately gave information to the Nawab's pursuers, who hurried him back to Murshidabad, and secretly put him to death. His body was interred in the old cemetery of the Nawabs, the *Kush Bagh*, or Garden of Happiness, where his mausoleum may be seen to this day.

On the 29th of June Clive entered Murshidabad, and was struck by its magnificence. "This city," he wrote, "is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city. . . . The

inhabitants, if inclined to destroy the Europeans, might have done so with sticks and stones." His little force of 3000 men must have seemed lost among the tens of thousands who crowded the busy streets. In the palace so lately occupied by Siraj-ud-Daula, Clive placed Mir Jafar on the beautiful ivory throne, enriched with painted and gilded flowers, and having previously obtained a patent of investiture from the Mughal court, proclaimed him Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He—or his subjects—had to pay heavily for this promotion. The Company claimed, as compensation for its losses, ten millions of rupees. The English, native, and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta demanded five millions, two millions, and one million respectively; the army and the navy, two and a half millions each. The members of the Council were by no means conspicuous for moderation in their demands. Mr. Drake, the governor, and Colonel Clive were set down for 280,000 rupees each, with 200,000 rupees to Clive as commander-in-chief, and 1,600,000 as "a private donation." To Mr. Baker, Mr. Watts, and Major Kilpatrick the allowance was fixed at 240,000 rupees each, besides "private donations," which, in Mr. Watts's instance, amounted to 800,000 rupees. The personal payments, including the donation to the troops and the fleet, reached the formidable total of £1,238,575; the whole claim amounted to no less than £2,697,750. This sum was based upon an absurd and extravagant idea of Indian wealth. The revenues of the three provinces could satisfy only a half, and even of this about one-third was paid in jewels and plate, all the coin and bullion having been exhausted.

At the same time, the new Nawab granted to the Company the *samindari*, or landholder's rights, over a wide tract of country round Calcutta, now known as the "District of the Twenty-four Parganas," covering an area of 882 square miles. The landholder's rights were the collection of rents from the cultivators, with the revenue jurisdiction. The superior lordship, with the right to receive the land-tax, the Nawab reserved; but, two years later, this was bestowed upon Clive by the Mughal Emperor, with the effect of making Clive

“the landlord of his own masters,” the Company. Clive was enrolled among the highest nobility of the empire, with the rank of commander of 5000 horse and 6000 foot, and a large allotment of land near Calcutta.

A word must be given to Omichund. When he importuned for his stipulated reward, he was coolly informed of the artifice of the two treaties, and dismissed without a rupee. The shock was so great that for a time the poor wretch’s mind was almost gone ; but he afterwards recovered, and, when he fell into poverty, Clive secured for him a suitable pension.

With how cordial a welcome the conqueror of Siraj-ud-Daula was received in Calcutta, the reader can easily imagine. Its inhabitants, whether British or native, regarded him as the only man who could compel the fulfilment of Mir Jafar’s engagements, just as Mir Jafar saw in him the only man who could sustain him on his dearly-bought musnad. A panic ran through Calcutta, therefore, when dispatches arrived from England establishing a new system of administration—the so-called Rotation Government—among the members of which was not included the hero of Plassey. But the persons named by the Company were not blind to the injudiciousness as well as ingratitude of the course proposed, and were under too many obligations to him, or expected too much from him, to be inclined to supplant him. Unanimously they requested him to continue at the helm. Meanwhile the news of Plassey arrived in London, and fresh orders were transmitted to Calcutta, appointing Clive first governor of all the Company’s possessions in Bengal (1758).

“His power was now boundless,” says Macaulay, “and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. Mir Jafar regarded him with slavish awe. On one occasion the Nawab spoke with severity to a native chief of high rank, whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company’s sepoys. ‘Are you yet to learn,’ he said, ‘who that Colonel Clive is, and in what station God has placed him?’ The chief, who, as a famous jester and an old friend of Mir Jafar, could venture to take liberties, answered, ‘I affront the Colonel?—I, who never get up in the morning

without making three low bows to his jackass!’ This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive’s feet.”

Hostilities were threatened by two formidable enemies. In the south, the French under Lally and Bussy were raising trouble in the Karnatic. I have already described how Clive dispatched a force southwards, under that fine soldier, Colonel Forde, which recaptured Masulipatam, and permanently established British influence throughout the Northern Circars and at Haidarabad. On the west his attention was engaged by the ambitious projects of the Shahzada or Imperial Prince, afterwards known as Shah Alum (“King of the World”), who, having escaped from Delhi, where he had been harshly treated by his father, and rallied to his standard adventurers from all parts of India, conceived the design of invading Bengal and dethroning Mir Jafar. He was supported by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and was soon at the head of 40,000 men. As he had already invested Patna,¹ Mir Jafar was anxious to purchase his retreat with a heavy sum; but Clive, with a force of only 450 Europeans and 2500 sepoy, marched to the relief of the town, and the Shahzada’s army melted away like a snow-wreath. It was in payment of this eminent service that the Nawab bestowed on him the jaghir or quit-rent of the lands around Calcutta which he had ceded to the Company.

The history of this jaghir may here be told. The Company in 1764 strenuously contested Clive’s right to hold it as their feudal suzerain, but on June 23, 1765, when he was again returning to Bengal, a new deed was issued, confirming the unconditional jaghir to him for ten years, with reversion afterwards to the Company in perpetuity. This deed, having received the imperial sanction on August 12th, gave absolute validity to the original grant. The sum of 222,058 rupees, at which the land had been assessed when first made over to the Company in 1757, was paid to Lord Clive from 1765 until his death in 1774, when the whole proprietary right went back to the Company.

¹ *Patna*, lat. 25° 57' N., long. 85° 12' E.; on the south bank of the Ganges; population, 170,654.

As regards its natural features or its monumental antiquities, the East is the land of stability ; but there is no stability in the minds of its sons. Mir Jafar soon began to mistrust the man who had made him—the man whom he had but recently adored with an adoration that was almost contemptible. His narrow soul fretted at the thought that he who had raised him up could pull him down, and he anxiously sought a counterpoise to the alliance which might any day destroy him. Secretly he opened up negotiations with the Dutch, whom he invited to station a military force at their trading settlement of Chinsurah.¹ With their old traditional jealousy of the power of England, the Dutch eagerly seized the opportunity of acquiring a solid footing on Indian soil, and an expedition of seven ships, with 1500 troops on board, was equipped and dispatched from Batavia. In October it ascended the Hugli. Clive had obtained information of Mir Jafar's duplicity ; but his position was not without its difficulties, as England was then at peace with Holland. But resolved that no foreign Power should menace British supremacy in Bengal, he compelled the reluctant Nawab to order that the Dutch squadron should not ascend beyond Faldu ; and when it attempted to force a passage and had disembarked its troops, directed Colonel Forde to attack them immediately. Forde, shrinking from the responsibility of attacking the soldiers of a friendly European Power, asked for a written order. Clive was playing a game of whist when the request arrived. Coolly taking one of the cards and a pencil, he wrote : " Dear Forde, fight them immediately ; I will send you the order of Council to-morrow." This was sufficient for Forde, who had much of the audacity of his chief. With 300 Europeans, 800 sepoy, and six guns, he threw himself on the Dutch army, and after some hard fighting, beat them completely, taking 550 prisoners. Scarcely was the action ended, when the Nawab's son appeared on the field, with 7000 men, prepared to fall upon the English had the day turned to their disadvantage. Simultaneously with the land expedition, Clive fitted out and armed some

¹ *Chinsurah*, lat. 22° 53' N. ; on the north bank of the Hugli river ; ceded to England in 1825.

merchant ships which lay near Fort William, and sent them against the Dutch squadron. Another victory was the result; and the humiliated authorities at Chinsurah hastened to agree to whatever terms Clive thought fit to impose—engaging, upon penalty of instant expulsion from Bengal, to build no fortifications, and levy no troops beyond the few necessary for police duties in their factories.

Having settled on a solid territorial basis the government of the Company in Bengal, Clive prepared to return to England. He sailed from Calcutta on February 25, 1760, to the regret of many and the fear of all, who felt as if the soul were departing from the government of Bengal. His reception in England was commensurate with his merits. An Irish peerage was bestowed upon him, and it was intimated that at an early period he might aspire to an English one. The King spoke of him and his services in flattering terms. When it was suggested that a certain young nobleman should go as a volunteer to the army in Germany, "Pshaw!" exclaimed the King, "what can he learn there? If he wants to learn the art of war, let him go to Clive!" The illustrious Pitt pronounced a stately eulogy, in which he happily referred to him as "a heaven-born general." His name was heard everywhere, and his portrait figured upon the alehouse signboards, an honour which our ancestors were fond of paying to their great men. He spent nearly five years in England, quarrelling with a faction in the India House and mixing actively in our party politics, which he did not understand, and in which he was by no means calculated to shine. But meanwhile a state of affairs had arisen in Bengal which demanded the prompt interposition of a man armed with the necessary authority. Misgovernment and oppression had reached their climax. The servants of the Company seemed incapable of any higher aim than the acquisition of wealth. "They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependants, who ranged through the provinces spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every

servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness." It was indispensable that the reins of government should be taken up by a strong hand, and at the urgent request of the King's ministers and of the Company, Lord Clive accepted the appointment of governor and commander-in-chief of the British possessions in Bengal. He sailed from England on June 4, 1764, and arrived at Calcutta on May 3, 1765.

His policy in this second period of government was boldly conceived and firmly executed. First, he aimed at securing and strengthening the territorial position of the Company; and second, he desired to reorganise and purify the Company's service. Rapidly proceeding from Calcutta to Allahabad, he there made a comprehensive review of "the situation," and came to certain conclusions which affected at least one half of India. He restored Oudh to the Nawab Wazir—it had fallen into our hands after the great victory at Baxar in 1769, won by Major (afterwards Sir) Hector Munro—on condition that he paid half a million sterling towards the expenses of the war. To Shah Alum, the Mughal Emperor, he transferred the provinces of Allahabad and Kora, and received in return the diwani or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, with the jurisdiction of the Northern Sarkars.¹ In his anxiety to preserve the old landmarks, he maintained at Murshidabad a shadowy Nawab, with a mere semblance of power, to whom he allowed an annual income of £600,000, while to the Emperor he agreed to pay a tribute of half that amount. His reasons for perpetuating the sham sovereignty of the Nawab he thus explains: "This name, this shadow," he says, "it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate; every mark of distinction and respect must be shown him, and he himself encouraged to show his resentment upon the least

¹ The treaty was signed by Shah Alum, August 12, 1765, in Clive's own tent, the imperial throne being represented by a chair supported upon a couple of tables.

want of respect from other nations. Under the sanction of a Subah[*dar*], every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign Powers can effectually be crushed without any apparent interposition of our own authority, and all real grievances complained of by them can through the same channel be examined and redressed. Be it therefore always remembered that there is a Subah, that we have allotted him a stipend which must be regularly paid in support of his dignity, and that, though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country, acting under him and this Presidency in conjunction. To appoint the Company's servants to the offices of collectors, or indeed to do any act by an exertion of the English power which can equally be done by the Nawab at our instance, would be throwing off the mask—would be declaring the Company Subah of the provinces." Clive's intention was that the Nawab should reign, but the Company govern. In this way came into existence a dual system of administration, the British levying the revenues of Bengal and maintaining the army, the Nawab retaining the *nijāmat*, or criminal jurisdiction.

The second part of his work was the more difficult ; but it was achieved by a rare combination of courage, resolution, and patience. He began by prohibiting the Company's servants from receiving presents, a practice which necessarily led to many and the gravest evils. In like manner he prohibited them from engaging in private trading ; but, as a compensation, he granted them a large and liberal increase of pay, providing the means out of the salt monopoly. Against these measures the whole settlement seemed determined to revolt. But Clive announced that if he could not find support at Calcutta he would send to Madras for some civil servants to assist him in carrying on the government ; at the same time dismissing from their offices the most violent of his opponents. The rest submitted to the inevitable ; and from Clive's victory dates the reign of incorruptibility and integrity in the Indian service.

The opposition of the army was infinitely more formidable

than that of the civil department. "Some of the retrenchments which had been ordered by the directors affected the interests of the military service, and a storm arose such as even Cæsar would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing to encounter the resistance of those who held the power of the sword in a country governed by the sword." Two hundred British officers secretly undertook to resign their commissions simultaneously, in the conviction that the Governor would make any concessions rather than see the army, the mainstay of British interests in India, left almost without commanders. So dishonourable a conspiracy deserved to fail, and it broke against Clive's firm will as ineffectually as waves against a rock. He had about his person a few officers of whose fidelity no doubt could exist. He summoned from Madras all officers and cadets who could readily be spared. He gave commissions to such mercantile agents as were disposed to support him; and he issued orders that any officer who resigned should immediately be sent up to Calcutta. The immense folly of their action became apparent only too quickly to the conspirators, the leaders of whom were arrested, tried, found guilty, and cashiered. The rest, defeated, dispirited, and not without shame at their complicity in a mean and unpatriotic manœuvre, begged permission to withdraw their resignations, many of them even with tears. The younger offenders experienced Clive's generosity, but the older and the ringleaders experienced his inflexibility. But while upholding the authority and dignity of his high office, he showed an entire indifference to personal insults and injuries. He was informed that one of the confederates had planned his assassination. The charge was improbable, and Clive at once rejected it. "The officers," he said, "are Englishmen, not assassins."

Lord Clive quitted India towards the end of January 1767, and arrived in England in the middle of July 1768. He was immediately assailed by a storm of calumny and detraction. The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors from whom he had delivered India opened upon him like full-mouthed hounds, and sowed broad-cast their insinuations, their slanders, in the

India House, in the columns of the press, and within the walls of Parliament. He was not only accused of the foulest crimes, but ridiculed for his love of display, his ostentatious dress, his ungainly person. His wealth, they said, was the product of the cruellest extortion; while as for his fame, it should be shared with the officers whom he had depreciated and neglected, notwithstanding their faithful service. When, in March 1772, some of these accusations were brought before the House of Commons, Lord Clive refuted them in a long and weighty speech, which drew from the elder Pitt the high praise that it was "one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in the House of Commons." A committee of inquiry was, however, appointed; and its composition being hostile to Clive, it reported to the House certain resolutions condemnatory of his conduct. Wedderburn, the well-known lawyer, who held a brief for Clive, defended his client and patron in a speech of remarkable skill and force; and the accused himself addressed the House with a good deal of natural dignity and unaffected pathos. "I have a conscious innocence," he said, "that tells me my conduct is irreproachable. *Frangas, non flectes*. My enemies may take from me what I have; they may, as they think, make me poor, but I will be happy!" The decision of the House was, on the whole, creditable to its sense of justice. It resolved, by 155 to 95 votes, that it was true Lord Clive had acquired certain specified sums of money; but it also resolved, and almost with unanimity, that he "did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country" (May 21, 1773). This, indeed, was a patent fact, which even the most inveterate calumniator could not wholly deny; though no honest historian will pretend that he was absolutely free from selfish and interested motives, or that his policy was always governed by the laws of the highest statesmanship. He laid the foundation of a great empire, containing within itself an irresistible principle of expansion, and he established much more permanently and solidly than Dupleix had done the supremacy of Europe in Asia. But the system of government he constructed was simply a makeshift, which it was impossible, and would have

been unwise, to have invested with permanency. It placed three great obstacles in the way of a wise, firm, and equable rule: the nominal sovereign, the Mughal at Delhi; his nominal viceroy, the Nawab at Murshidabad, who was at once the Mughal's master and the English Governor-General's servant; and the Nawab's minister, who, though appointed by us, was usually unqualified for doing the work required of him. There is no doubt that Clive himself was not confident in the durable character of his arrangement. In a remarkable letter to William Pitt he explained at some length his views upon Indian affairs, and clearly makes it evident that in his opinion the government of the British possessions in India should be undertaken by the Crown.

Clive did not long survive his dubious victory in the House of Commons. The struggle had been a long and an exhausting one, and had penetrated his heart with a sense of the national ingratitude. The fits of melancholy returned and deepened from which he had suffered in his youth. The agony of a cruel disease also helped to disturb the equilibrium of his once vigorous and elastic intellect, which was further weakened by the doses of opium taken to relieve his physical sufferings. Sad to say, this hero of battles and founder of empires passed to the grave in darkness, dying by his own hand on November 22, 1774, when he had just completed his forty-ninth year. He was buried in the parish church of Moreton Say.





CHAPTER II.

1767-1786.

WARREN HASTINGS, 1772-1785.

War with Mysore—The Marathas.

WE have seen that Lord Clive quitted India for the third and last time in 1767. Between that date and the appointment of Warren Hastings to the governorship in 1772, little of interest occurred. Mr. Harry Verelst occupied the curule chair from 1767 to 1769, when he was succeeded by Mr. John Cartier ; but both were mediocre men, who made no mark on Anglo-Indian history. A great famine, the first recorded in our Indian annals, ravaged Bengal in 1769-1770, sweeping away one-third of the native population. But no measures of public relief seem to have been attempted beyond the importation into Calcutta and Murshidabad of a few thousand hundred-weights of rice from the districts of Bakarganj and Chittagong.¹ Meanwhile, the dual system of government introduced by Lord Clive had been tried and found wanting, and the home authorities had accordingly determined on a series of reforms by which they hoped to secure an efficient and economical administration. Their resolution was, in their own words, to stand forth as *diwan*, instead of screening themselves behind the native prince, and to undertake, by the agency of their own servants, the entire care and administration of the revenue. For the establishment and development

¹ Sir W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 19-55.

of this new policy they selected Warren Hastings, one of their ablest and most experienced civil servants, not less distinguished for his capacity, his disinterestedness, and his probity, than for his profound knowledge of Eastern ideas and manners. It was a happy selection ; for if Clive was the territorial founder of the Indian Empire, Warren Hastings became the creator of its administrative organisation. On the base laid down by Clive he built up the stately structure which after-comers were to enlarge, strengthen, adorn, and complete.

Warren Hastings was born at a small Oxfordshire village called Churchill on December 6, 1732. His mother died a few days after his birth, and his father, leaving him and another child to the care of his brother, a poor curate, went out into the world to seek a fortune which he never found, and ultimately died in one of the West Indian islands. Young Warren was none the worse, perhaps, for missing the tutelage of this weak and wayward individual. He grew up at Churchill in a wholesome atmosphere. His family was of honourable descent, and had at one time possessed the manor-house of Daylesford ; and the imaginative boy, much touched by the tales he heard of their bygone repute, would dream of the old days, and inwardly vow that, if he lived, Daylesford should again belong to a Hastings. When he was about eight years old, his uncle Howard took charge of him, and sent him first to a private school at Newington Butts, and afterwards to Westminster, where, among his schoolfellows, were several who afterwards imprinted their names on the world's memory—George Colman, Charles Churchill, Lord Shelburne, Elijah Impey, and the poet Cowper. His cleverness and application pointed him out as the future recipient of the highest classical honours ; but his uncle Howard dying, the unfortunate youth fell into the hands of a distant relative, who resolved to get rid of the responsibility, as Clive's father had done, by dispatching him to India as a "writer" in the East India Company's service.

He sailed for Calcutta in January 1750, when he had just

entered his eighteenth year; he landed there, friendless but high-hearted, in the early days of October, and was soon seated at his desk with a big ledger before him, or perambulating the warehouses to check the muslins and silks and shawls, the ivory and the spices, and the gold and silver ornaments, deposited therein by the *gomushtas*, or native agents. Usually a "writer" served five years as such, and then became a factor, with similar duties but larger powers and pay. Three years more and he figured as a "junior merchant," who, after a similar period of probation, blossomed out into a "senior merchant," eligible for distinction as a member of council, or chief of a factory or political agent, or any higher and more lucrative office. In all these grades (before Clive's great reform) the income was shamefully small; £5 for a writer, £15 for a factor, and £30 for a junior merchant, with an allowance for "commons;" but the Company expected its officials to eke out their scanty pay with the profits of private trading, which the unscrupulous contrived to do in such wise as to keep their carriage and pair, and sit down to a sumptuous dinner to the strains of a band of music.

In October 1753 Hastings was transferred to the factory at Kasimbazar, where he discharged his duties with so much shrewd energy, that within two years he was promoted to a seat in the council of the factory. Then came the accession of the new Nawab, Siraj-ud-Daula, the tragedy of the "Black Hole," the capture and plunder of every British factory in Bengal, and the imprisonment or detention of Hastings and many others at Murshidabad. Thence he fled to Fálta, a barren island near the mouth of the Hugli, where the Calcutta fugitives had found shelter, and was rescued by Admiral Watson's fleet, with Clive and his soldiers on board. With the ready courage of a young Englishman, he joined Clive's little army as a volunteer, shared in the capture of Bajbaj, in the march upon Calcutta, and in the night-attack upon Siraj-ud-Daula's camp. What other services he rendered at this period cannot be precisely ascertained, but they must have been of value, and discharged in such a way as to command Clive's approval; for after Mir Jafar's installation as Nawab,

Warren Hastings was appointed Resident at his court, and removed to Murshidabad.

The letters which passed between the Resident and Governor Clive throw an interesting light on the character of both of these remarkable men. Clive's sentences are abrupt, pithy, and brief, clearly expressive of a masterful will and a strong but uncultivated intellect. There is more polish about his young subordinate's compositions, but they too reflect a clear and powerful understanding. It is curious to find Hastings in one of his letters complaining of the insolent interference of a certain Nand Kumar in affairs the management of which rested, he thought, exclusively in his own hands. This Nand Kumar was a wealthy, well-born, and wily Hindu, formerly governor of Hugli, whom the Calcutta Council had promoted to the important post of revenue collector for Boulwan, Nadiga, and Hugli, three large districts in the middle of Bengal. Hastings knew nothing of this promotion, and we find him writing to Clive for further instructions, so that he may not appear to usurp an office for which he had no authority, or as abruptly dismissed from it for some misconduct or incapacity. Clive in reply regrets that Hastings' predecessors had not made him acquainted with the arrangement, and is much concerned at the suggestion that it was due to misconduct or incapacity on the part of his correspondent. "No one," he says, "will be more ready to support your character and welfare than myself, when it can be done without prejudicing the concerns of the Company."

Hastings remained at Murshidabad during the stirring years 1759-1760—years, as we have seen, big with great events—years which witnessed the decline and fall of the French power in India. He would know of Clive's action against the Dutch, of Forde's success over them at Bidara, of Captain Knox's relief of Patna, of Coote's great victory at Wandiwash, of the capture of Pondicherry, Mahé, and Gingi. Then in February 1760 Clive sailed for England, leaving the government in the hands of his senior colleague, Mr. Holwell, until the arrival of his destined successor, Mr. Vansittart, a member of the Madras Council, in the following July. One of the new

governor's earliest proceedings, taken apparently with the full approval and support of Hastings, was the deposition of the Nawab, Mir Jafar, whose misrule had provoked all classes against him, in favour of his son-in-law, Mir Kasim. Hastings, however, made no personal profit out of this transaction, though he placed large sums of money, ranging from thirteen to fifty lakhs of rupees,¹ in the pockets of the members of the Calcutta Council. But in August 1761 he was promoted to a vacant seat in the Council.

In this capacity he exhibited his uncommon powers of mind and gifts of character; but the times were unfavourable for the making of a great reputation. I have alluded in the previous chapter to the three years of speculation and corruption which preceded Clive's second governorship. The practice of "private trading" had been carried to an excess, and was but the thin disguise of a most oppressive robbery. The British flag was daily dishonoured by the shameless robberies committed under its shelter. Under the *phirman* granted long before by a Mughal emperor, the Company's goods passed everywhere free of duty by virtue of a *dastak* or pass signed by the president of the Council. As the Company's power increased, its servants hastened to turn this public privilege to their private advantage. To the factor, who at need could flourish his *dastak* or the Company's flag, the toll-houses and the high duties which crippled the internal trade of Bengal were of no importance. This happy expedient was speedily adopted by every *gomushta* or factory agent, and every native merchant who had sufficient interest with his English customers; and it was said that the youngest writer could make two or three thousand rupees a month by selling *dastaks* to native purchasers. The Nawab himself complained in a letter to the governor of this high-handed lawlessness. "From the factory of Calcutta," he wrote, "to Kasimbazar, Patna, and Dacca, all the English chiefs with their gomushtas, officers, and agents in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, and magistrates, and, setting up the Com-

¹ A rupee was then worth about two shillings; and a lakh contained 100,000 rupees = £10,000.

pany's colours, deprive my officers of all authority. And besides this, the gomushtas and other servants in every district, in every market and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboo, rice, paddy, betel-nut, and other things; and every man with a Company's *dastak* in his hand regards himself as not less than the Company."

Hastings felt strongly the shame that these transactions brought upon the fair fame of England. They could bode no good, he said, to the Nawab's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation. But such an Augean stable could be cleansed only by a Hercules, and there was nothing of the Hercules about Vansittart. At length, after much negotiation, both parties agreed to a convention that a transit duty of only 9 per cent. should be paid by Englishmen, which was much below the rate exacted from other traders. But the convention was rejected by the Council at Calcutta, and Mir Kasim then resolved to abandon all transit dues, and throw the trade of the country perfectly open; a measure which by no means commanded the approval of the Company's servants. In April 1763 a deputation was sent from Calcutta to Monghyr,¹ where the Nawab had removed his court; but ill feeling had sprung up on both sides, and the time for negotiation had passed. The rupture was hastened by an incident which occurred at Monghyr while Messrs. Hay and Amyatt, the members of the deputation, were still there. Mir Kasim seized and detained some boat-loads of arms which were ascending the Ganges to Patna, alleging that they were to be employed against himself. On Midsummer-day, Mr. Ellis, chief of the factory at Patna, occupied the city with his sepoy; and, in revenge, the Nawab sent a force in pursuit of Mr. Amyatt, who had been allowed to return to Calcutta, while Mr. Hay remained as hostage. Mr. Amyatt was overtaken and murdered near Kasimbazar. Meanwhile, the sepoy, who had been plundering Patna, were driven back to their factory by the Muhammadans with great slaughter. The survivors, some 300 out of 3000, stood a siege of two days

¹ *Monghyr*, lat. 25° 22' N.; on the south bank of the Ganges; population, 55,372.

and two nights, and then fled in their boats to the frontiers of Oudh, where they laid down their arms. They were conveyed back to Patna, to which place had also been removed Mr. Hay from Monghyr, the entire staff of the Kasimbazar factory, who had been arrested at the first sound of hostilities, and some other prisoners.

A small army of Europeans and sepoy, under Major Adams, an officer of rare military gifts, was equipped with all possible speed; and in five months its gallant commander led it from the Hugli to the Karamnasa with ever-victorious standards. In two pitched battles—at Gheria on August 2nd, and at Udha-nala on September 5th—he defeated overwhelming armies of the Nawab, captured four strong fortresses by siege or assault, and took more than 400 pieces of cannon. Even the stirring war-history of India presents few more romantic chapters than that which records the successes of this brilliant campaign. But each fresh success stimulated the Nawab's temper into a frenzy of rage and despair. After his defeat at Gheria he put to death his native prisoners. After the reverse at Udha-nala he caused the two great Hindu bankers of Murshidabad, the Seths, to be thrown into the Ganges; and after the capture of his stronghold of Monghyr he wrote to Major Adams, "If you are resolved to proceed in this business, know for a certainty that I will cut off the heads of Major Ellis and the rest of your chiefs, and send them to you;" and he fulfilled his threat with the assistance of Sombre or Samru, a renegade Swiss, whose real name was Walter Reinhardt. On the evening of the 6th of October Mr. Ellis and other victims were decoyed one by one out of the room where they were drinking tea at seven o'clock, and immediately cut down. The remainder took alarm, and made the best fight they could with bottles and plates, their knives and forks having previously been removed. About sixty Englishmen thus foully perished, their bodies being thrown into a well close at hand. It is said that fully 200 Englishmen were killed at this time in Bengal.

When the news of the massacre—which can be compared only with that of Cawnpore a century later—reached Calcutta

a general day's mourning was ordered for a fortnight ; and from fort and fleet minute-guns were solemnly fired. A reward of a lakh of rupees was offered for the person of Mir Kasim, and four thousand pounds for Samru. Patna was stormed by Major Adams and his soldiers on the 6th of November ; but the two butchers had escaped their vengeance by a precipitate flight. Adams kept up the chase as far as the Karamnasa ; after which, worn out with toil and disease, he returned to Calcutta to die. Mir Kasim took refuge with the Wazir of Oudh, and the war with Oudh, which lasted until 1765, was mainly due to the Wazir's refusal to surrender the two fugitives.¹ Mir Kasim afterwards died at Delhi in wretched poverty. Samru, after a career of strange vicissitudes, died at Agra in 1778, leaving his widow and heir as ruler of Gurgaon, Jewar, and North Meerut, the notorious Begam Samru or Sombre, who, in her old age, endeavoured to cover the sins of her previous life with the cloak of charity. She died in 1834, and by her will bequeathed £15,000 to found a Clergy and Poor Fund in the diocese of Calcutta. To so strange a use was the renegade's ill-gotten wealth, or part of it, finally put !

On the musnad vacated by Mir Kasim the Calcutta Council replaced the aged and almost imbecile Mir Jafar, who, in his eagerness to recover even the show of power, agreed to conditions of the most onerous character. He pledged himself to reimpose the duties repealed by his predecessor, but to exempt from them the trade of the Company's servants, also to pay immense sums into the Company's treasury as compensation for public and private losses. It does not appear that Hastings took any active part in these arrangements ; and soon after their completion he resigned his seat in the Council, and went on a visit to England, from which he had been absent for nearly fifteen years.

He remained in England until the spring of 1769, employ-

¹ The victory of Baxar, won by Munro, October 23, 1764, with about 7000 Europeans and sepoys, over the army of Oudh, 50,000 strong, compelled the Wazir to sue for peace, and one of the conditions was the expulsion of Mir Kasim and Samru.

ing himself in literary trifling, mixing in the society of Dr. Johnson and other men of letters, and planning the establishment of a college in connection with the East India Company's service, in which Persian should be taught by a competent native of India. But the Court of Directors were unwilling to lose for any length of time the abilities and integrity of so valuable a servant, and in the spring of 1769 they offered him a seat in the Madras Council next in rank to the president. On his voyage out, he made the acquaintance of a Baron Imhoff, who was going to Madras to make a living by portrait-painting, and of his wife, a lady of "singularly attractive manners, of a very engaging figure, and a mind highly cultivated," between whom and Hastings such close and confidential relations were established that the husband was heavily bribed to seek a divorce, and Baroness Imhoff ultimately became Mrs. Hastings. The story is not a nice one, and not to the credit of any one of the characters in it; but it is only justice to state that the lady proved a tender and faithful helpmate to the great Anglo-Indian statesman, the happiness of whose later life was derived from her attractive and accomplished society. Such is not the usual ending to such a story, and the rigid moralist will declare that Warren Hastings and his wife were a great deal more fortunate than they had any right to be.

First Mysore War, 1767-1769.

When Hastings arrived at Madras in the late summer of 1769, the capital had hardly recovered from the panic provoked by the appearance, almost under its walls, of Haidur Ali and his Mysore cavalry.

The state of Maisur or Mysore, in Southern India, is situated between lat. $11^{\circ} 15'$ and $11^{\circ} 35'$ N., and long. $74^{\circ} 45'$ and $78^{\circ} 45'$ E. The chief town, Maisur, which is still the residence of the Maharaja, lies about 250 miles from Madras. The military headquarters and depot are at Bangalore. The ruler of this highland state at the period we are considering was Haidur Ali, a man of remarkable character and singular

career. The son of a Sirdar of peons (or head-constable), he had never learned to read or write; but he supplied his educational deficiencies by the vigour of his intellect and the retentiveness of his memory. He had reached his forty-eighth year when, as a volunteer in the Mysore army, and at the siege of Diwanhalli (1729), he attracted the attention of Nunjeraj, the chief minister, by his ability and daring. Henceforth his promotion was rapid, and as he rose his ambition expanded, until he aimed at nothing less than the acquisition of the supreme power. The services which, meanwhile, he rendered to the Nizam and his minister procured him the command-in-chief of the Mysore army; and his fame as a warrior was so widely spread, that when Sir Eyre Coote besieged Pondicherri, Lally sent to him for assistance, and promised him the important fortress of Tiagar in return for a contingent of 8000 horse and foot. But in four weeks Haidur was compelled to recall it for his own defence—a palace revolution compelling him to fly for his life to Bangalore, apparently a disgraced and ruined man. He contrived, however, to propitiate the prime minister, and again obtained military command, of which he availed himself to raise a large army, and, advancing rapidly upon the capital, to wrest the government from the Raja and his minister (June 1760).

As sovereign of Mysore, his aggressive policy soon raised against him a formidable confederation, and in the latter months of 1766 the Nizam and the Peshwa (the chief of the Marathas) determined to crush their restless enemy, and divide his dominions between them. By an injudicious agreement with the Nizam, the English authorities at Madras were bound to furnish him in this war with a British force. Before the two allies were ready to act, the impatient Marathas broke across the Kistna (January 1767), and swept like a torrent of fire over the northern districts of Mysore. Haidur contrived to buy off the Peshwa with thirty lakhs, and then addressed himself to the task of dissolving the alliance between the Nizam and the British. His astute diplomacy was so successful that the Nizam agreed to unite with him to attack the troops which had been sent from Madras to his

assistance. With an army of 70,000 horse and foot and 100 guns they invaded the Carnatic, but at the Chengama Pass were attacked by Colonel Joseph Smith with 5800 bayonets, 1030 sabres, and 16 guns (September 1767), and heavily defeated. Smith then retired upon Tiruvannamalai,¹ and maintained himself there until reinforcements came up, when he turned upon the allies, and, after a two days' battle, inflicted upon them a severe discomfiture, with a loss of 4000 men killed and 64 guns. Haidur at this juncture was called away to the western borders of his dominions to contend with a strong expedition dispatched by the Government of Bombay, and the Madras Council hastened to make a fresh treaty with the Nizam, which involved them in new and dangerous engagements. They promised not only to assist him with troops and guns against "Haidur Naik" as, with cheap contempt, they called the Mysore sovereign, but to hold of him in fief the Northern Sarkars, and the districts which they hoped to carve out of the kingdom of Mysore (February 22, 1768). They declared a nominee of their own, one Muhammad Ali, to be Sultan of Mysore; and he accompanied the British army to take possession. Colonel Smith conducted the campaign with a skill and energy which forced Haidur to sue for peace, and he offered to cede the district of Baramahal, and to pay ten lakhs of rupees for the expenses of the war. These terms were refused by the Council, and conditions imposed which Haidur's haughty spirit indignantly spurned, and he resumed military operations with so much vehemence and vigour that Colonel Smith was compelled to raise the siege of Bangalore.² The Madras Council recalled the veteran, and replaced him by a Colonel Wood, whose incompetency soon plunged the British army into grave embarrassments, and they were saved from annihilation only by the arrival of reinforcements. Despising his antagonist, Haidur planned a brilliant *coup-de-main*, by which he essayed to close the war at one stroke. Leading his

¹ *Tiruvannamalai* (Tirnomalai), lat. 12° 13' 56" N.; its fortified hill is 2668 feet high; population, 9572.

² *Bangalore* ("town of the bean"), lat. 12° 87' 37" N.; capital and military centre of Mysore; population, 155,857.

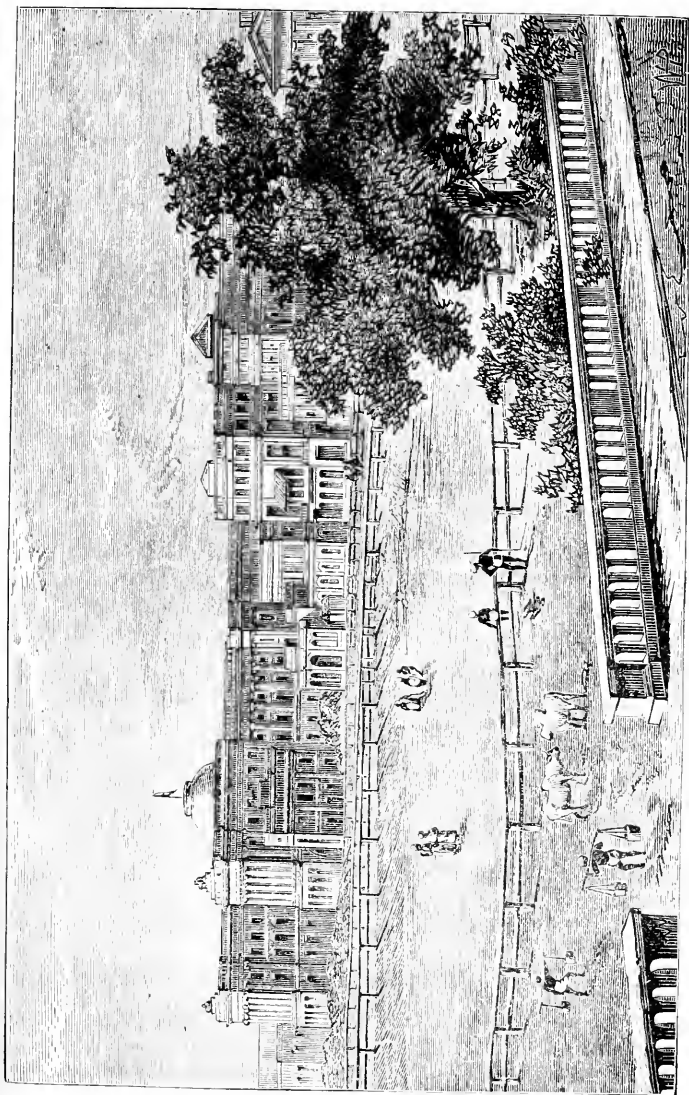
forces through the *Ghats* by a dexterous flank march which concealed their movements, he swooped down upon the Baramahal, and in six weeks recovered this fertile district. Colonel Smith was hastily reappointed to the command of the British, as the only warrior able to cope with this wily and daring foe, who suddenly turning southward, drew him after him in slow and vain pursuit; and then leaving his guns and infantry in the hills near Pondicherri, rode past Chingalpat with 6000 troopers, almost up to the very gates of Madras, accomplishing 130 miles in three days and a half. Smith hastened after him; but Haidur had won the game. The flash of his sabres terrified the Council into making peace with their formidable foe, and at his request, their president, Mr. Du Pré, repaired to his camp on Mount St. Thomas, where it overlooked the city and suburbs of Madras. Smith's homeward march was interrupted by an order to halt his troops. On April 3, 1769, a treaty was concluded, by which both parties restored their conquests, and undertook to help each other against all comers. Such was the inglorious end of the First Mysore War.

Hastings, while at Madras, was engaged in carrying out many useful reforms, but they were not of an extent or an importance to justify the historian in dwelling upon them. Towards the close of 1771 he was appointed second in Council at Calcutta, with the right of succeeding Mr. Cartier in the government of Bengal, and he sailed for the scene of the achievements which have made him famous on February 2, 1772. In the following April Mr. Cartier (who had succeeded Mr. Verelst in 1770, the year of the dreadful famine), handed over to the new governor "the keys of office, a failing treasury, and a government sadly out of gear." Ever since Clive's departure from Bengal in 1767, the Company's affairs had been going more and more amiss. The rich provinces won by his sword had been left in the hands of native governors and agents, who fleeced their own countrymen in the name of a puppet Nawab, living in idle state at Murshidabad on the noble income secured to him by the Company. An

army of Faujdars, Amils, Sardars, and such-like gentry, preyed like leeches upon the people, and intercepted the revenues designed for the Company's use. The English supervisors, appointed in 1769 to check these abuses and to look after the revenue, were, in Hastings' words, "the boys of the service," and "rulers, very heavy rulers, of the people." Against the mischief caused by their ignorance or their greed, the Board of Revenue at Murshidabad strove vainly, if indeed it strove at all.

Hastings entered upon his arduous duties on April 13, 1772, and within a fortnight had taken the first step towards the reorganisation of the Presidency by abolishing the dual system of government established by Lord Clive. Acting upon the instructions of the home authorities, who had resolved to stand forth as *diwan*, and to take upon themselves, by the agency of their own servants, the entire care and administration of the revenue, he dismissed the native officials, removed the exchequer from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and appointed European officers, under the now familiar title of Collectors, to superintend the collection of revenue and to preside in the courts. He carried out a new land settlement of Bengal, in which the interests of the ryots were to some extent protected, and did not a little towards the better administration of justice by establishing two courts of appeal for civil and criminal cases. Over one of those, the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*, or chief civil court, the governor himself, with two members of his council, presided; over the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat*, a native *danga* or judge, appointed by the governor. To each were attached native assessors, skilled in the mysteries of the Hindu and Muhammadan law.

Economy in expenditure being indispensable if Bengal were to be made "to pay," Hastings reduced the enormous income of the Nawab from £350,000 to £160,000, while a sharp reduction was made in the pension-list and expenses of his household. He concerted measures for the improvement of the Company's trade and the repression of corrupt practices among their servants. Of the varied nature and immense extent of his labours at this time we get a glimpse in one of



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.—*P.* 96.



his letters (October) to his friend Du Pré at Madras:—"Here I now am," he writes, "with arrears of business of months, and some of years, to bring up; with the courts of justice and offices of revenue to set agoing; with the official reformation to resume and complete; with the trials of Muhammad Reza Cawn and Raja Shitabroy to bring on, without materials, and without much hope of assistance, . . . and with the current trifles of the day, notes, letters, personal applications, every man's business of more consequence than any others, complainants from every quarter of the province halloaing me for justice by hundreds as often as I put my head out of window or venture abroad, and, what is worse than all, a mind discomposed, and a temper almost fermented to vinegar by the weight of affairs to which the former is unequal, and by everlasting teasing. We go on, however, though slowly; and in the hopes of support at home, and of an easier time here when proper channels are cut for the affairs of the province to flow in, I persevere. Neither my health nor my spirits, thank God, have yet forsaken me."

An important measure to which Hastings next resorted greatly relieved the financial pressure. When Clive partitioned out the great Gangetic Valley, he assigned Allahabad and the Kora provinces to the Emperor Shah Alum, agreeing at the same time to pay him a tribute of about £300,000 in acknowledgment of his grant of Bengal to the Company. But the Emperor was now in the power of the Marathas, and it seemed to Hastings a dangerous policy to pour these lakhs of rupees into the treasury of the Marathas in Northern India, when it was clear that before long we must fight them in the south. He withheld the tribute, therefore, on the ground that the Emperor was no longer independent, and for the same reason declared that he had forfeited the provinces of Allahabad and Kora, which Hastings proceeded to re-sell to the Wazir of Oudh. By these means he relieved the Company from the annual tribute-money, and from a military charge of nearly £400,000, besides obtaining a price of upwards of half a million for the two provinces (1773).

So far, perhaps, there was not much to blame, from a moral

standpoint, in the Governor's statecraft. The British authorities, if accused of a breach of faith, might plead in excuse that the Emperor, by his new alliance with the Marathas, had first broken faith with them. At all events, we were hardly called upon to subsidise our enemies, and provide them with "the sinews of war" to be used against ourselves. But for his next step no such excuse can be pleaded. At the same time that he concluded his financial arrangement with the Wazir, Hastings agreed to a loan of British troops to enable him to subdue the Rohilla Pathans or Afghans, who, under the Mughal standard, had conquered a fruitful tract of land in the rich plains eastward of the Ganges. For the services of a British brigade the Wazir undertook to pay the Company 210,000 rupees a month, besides forty lakhs at the end of the campaign, and ceded to them the important fortress of Chunar, on the Ganges, a little above Banaras. It is true that the Rohillas had proved hard tax-masters, and severely oppressed the suffering peasantry of Rohilkand; but we were not called upon to interfere. Much less was it our business to hire out our troops like mercenaries to take part in the merciless warfare which the Wazir pursued against them. Colonel Champion's brigade crossed the Karamnasa in March 1774, and joining the Wazir's forces, entered Rohilkhand in the following month. On the 23rd the Rohillas, after much desperate fighting, were routed near Katra. Charge after charge of the dusky warriors was broken by the unwavering fire from the British guns, and 40,000 Rohillas turned and fled before the levelled steel of the British infantry. As soon as the victory was assured, the Wazir, who had watched the eddies and turns of the battle from a safe distance, let loose his hordes for the work of pillage, which they accomplished with remorseless cruelty. The Rohillas made no further attempt to meet the British in the open field, but a desultory warfare was protracted over some months, ending in their complete submission, and the deportation of some twenty thousand of them across the Ganges into the districts around Meerut.

This is a passage in the career of Hastings which even his most eulogistic biographer admits no impartial writer can

regard with complacency. And the Court of Directors excepted from their approval of the Treaty of Banaras the articles which provided for the employment of their troops in a war cruelly waged by a native ruler. And allowing that Macaulay colours with much rhetorical exaggeration the part of his brilliant narrative which describes these lamentable events, we must still admit that enough of solid fact remains to justify the sharp censure of the historian. How far the excuse put forward by his apologist may be accepted in arrest of judgment, the reader must decide for himself. For my own part, I prefer that British rulers should be guided in all they do by the highest law of Christian morality. "The true key, perhaps, to Hastings' policy," says the *Advocatus Diaboli*, "may be found in that want of money which continued to vex the masters of Bengal. He owned himself doubtful of the judgment which might be passed upon his acts at home, where he saw 'too much stress laid upon general maxims, and too little attention paid to the circumstances, which require an exception to be made from them.' But he rejoiced to think that an 'accidental concourse of circumstances' had enabled him to 'relieve the Company in the distress of their affairs' by means which seemed to him altogether harmless. 'Such,' he writes to Lawrence Sullivan, 'was my idea of the Company's distress at home, added to my knowledge of their wants abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses.'"

So far Hastings had been master in his own Council, and had been crossed by little criticism or opposition in carrying out his plans. But this happy state of things was soon to be altered, and the Governor exposed to an unrelenting hostility. In 1773 the Imperial Parliament passed a Regulating Act for the better administration of the Company's affairs. It transformed the Governor of Bengal into Governor-General of British India; reduced his Council from twelve members to four; and placed under their joint control the governments of Madras and Bombay. It also established a Supreme Court of Justice, consisting of a Chief-Justice and three other judges, which was to hold its sittings at Calcutta, and exercise

jurisdiction over all British subjects in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Of the new councillors, one only, Mr. Barwell, belonged to the former Council ; the others, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis, were appointed in England by the Ministry, for the purpose, no doubt, of inclining the policy of the Indian Government in whatever direction the Ministry might approve.

The brisk warfare which began almost immediately after their arrival in Calcutta cannot be described at any length in these pages. It is of no serious importance to us now-a-days ; nor even at that time did it very materially affect the course of Indian affairs, though it was necessarily a disadvantage that the Governor-General's Council should be split up into two parties, each eyeing the other with a view to profit by its slightest mistakes. The opposition leader was Mr. Philip Francis, who was well qualified for such a post by ability, boldness, readiness of resource, and staying power. It is usual to represent him as inspired only by personal motives, by jealousy of Hastings, and a restless ambition ; but I think that the representation is unjust, that his criticism was often pertinent and well-founded, and that he had a strong desire for the equitable treatment of the natives of India.

Controversy between Hastings and Philip Francis.

The first quarrel arose in connection with the affairs of Oudh. The Nawab Wazir died in January 1766, and on his successor, Asaf-ad-Daula, the majority of the Council wished to impose new and hard conditions. Hastings would have had the young prince more leniently treated, and he himself protested against the harshness of the terms demanded ; but resistance was useless, and before the end of May 1775 he had signed a treaty which transferred to the Company the revenues of Banaras, and raised by 50,000 rupees a month the subsidy in payment of the British troops quartered in Oudh. At the same time he undertook, as speedily as possible, to discharge the balance of his father's debt to the Company ; and while thus pressed, was compelled to surrender to the Begam, his

father's widow, a sum of nearly two millions stored up by the late Nawab as a fund against a time of need, which she alleged had been left to her by her husband's will.

The change which had taken place in Hastings' position was visible to the natives, and those who cherished any grudge or grievance against him welcomed the opportunity of satisfying it. Among these was his old enemy Nand Kumar, a man who had long lived in the enjoyment of a malodorous reputation. On the 11th of March he delivered into the hands of Francis a letter in which he openly and directly accused the Governor-General of various acts of fraud, embezzlement, corruption, and oppression, charges which, in a second letter, he repeated and enlarged, at the same time asking that he might appear before the Council with witnesses in support of them. Hastings indignantly repelled this attack upon his honour, and denied the right of the Council to take cognisance of accusations coming from such a source. But the triumvirate insisted, and thereupon Hastings broke up the meeting and left the council-chamber, followed by his friend Barwell.

Other charges were made by other persons, the charges being vague, and the accusers persons of no character. It is unnecessary to dwell upon them, for everybody is now convinced of the great statesman's personal integrity. He, on his part, was undismayed at the action of the majority and their native allies, and prepared to traverse it by an exceedingly adroit and well-considered movement. Turning for assistance to the Supreme Court, he lodged in that court, on April 11, 1777, a charge of conspiracy against Nand Kumar and his accomplices. They were accused of suborning a revenue-farmer to bear witness against the Governor-General, and the judges ordered them to give bail for their appearance at the next assizes, and bound Hastings over as prosecutor. Within a few days an old charge of forgery was revived against Nand Kumar, and the Supreme Court gave orders for his arrest. On the 8th of June his trial began, a true bill having been found by a grand jury, composed of the leading merchants in Calcutta. The four judges, including the chief, Sir [Elijah] Impey, tried

the man ; a jury of twelve Englishmen followed the evidence, and the prisoner was ably defended by two English barristers. After a careful inquiry, he was found guilty and sentenced to death, according to the then law of England. No one interfered on his behalf, and early on the morning of the 5th of August he was hanged on the Maidan in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators, mostly natives, who seem, however, to have been little moved by the unfortunate man's last agonies.

The part played by Hastings in this tragic episode is not easily defined. He himself solemnly swore that he had never, directly or indirectly, countenanced or forwarded the prosecution for forgery. But a certain amount of suspicion not unnaturally clung to him, since it was he, and he only, who profited by the wretched man's death ; it removed out of his way an unscrupulous enemy, and deepened in the minds of the natives a conviction that it was a dangerous thing to cross the path of the Governor-General. As for the Chief-Justice, the calumny invented by Francis, and repeated with all the force of his gorgeous rhetoric by Macaulay, that "he put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose," that he was, in fact, the servile tool and instrument of Hastings, can no longer be revived with decency since Sir James Stephen's powerful defence and closely-reasoned justification of his action.

I shall not detain the reader with any further account of the unfortunate misunderstandings and intrigues which have left a blot on the fame of all involved in them, but have long ceased to possess any living interest. An attempt was made to force Hastings out of the Governor-Generalship on the strength of a hasty resignation of office, which he had afterwards recalled ; but he held his ground, convinced that he could be of service to his country and to India, and penetrated with a just sense of his intellectual resources. The game always lies in the hands of the patient player, and the opposition party in the Council was crippled by the death of Monson in September 1776, and of Clavering in August 1777. On the part of Francis, however, with the exception of a brief truce in the early part

of 1780, the hostility continued. A quarrel broke out in August of such intense bitterness that the Governor-General publicly declared his adversary to be "devoid of truth and honour." Francis immediately challenged him, and about sunrise on the 17th the two antagonists faced each other, pistol in hand. They fired at the same moment. Hastings remained unhurt; Francis fell with a bullet in his left side; but the wound did not entail any dangerous consequences, and in the following December he sailed for England, leaving Hastings, after six years of conflict, to enjoy "the triumph of a decided victory."

The First Maratha War, 1778-1781.

From these personal details I turn to glance at the great public labours which Warren Hastings accomplished during his memorable proconsulship.

Following the example of Bengal and Madras, Bombay desired to render itself supreme at the court of Poona, by placing its own nominee on the Maratha throne.

Going back to the year 1650, we find that, at that period, the Marathas (or Mahrattas) had been for five centuries subject to the Muhammadans, who regarded them with great contempt, and called them the "mountain-rats." They were then in possession of the rugged table-lands on the west side of the Indian peninsula, which are traversed by branches of the Ghats and Vindhya Mountains. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, a certain Sivaji, a man of extraordinary force of character, personal courage, and physical endurance, formed them into a nation, and gave them the gift of independence. He had been carefully trained in military exercises, bred in the Indian faith, and cradled in the old legends and songs of the people. Thus he grew up inspired with lofty notions of Indian nationality, and with an heroic patriot spirit, which led him to conceive the hope of throwing off the Muhammadan yoke. He could not read or write, but he was a splendid shot with gun and bow, and he could ride like one to the manner born. Three items among his equipments

and accoutrements deserve particular mention. "The first," says Sir Richard Temple, "is what is called the tiger's claw. This was an iron instrument as near as possible like the claw of a tiger, with very sharp points, which could be fastened inside the palm, so that a man might have the claw inside his hand and yet show the outside, and nobody would suppose there was anything in it. Another thing was his sword, which was called Bhawani, after the name of a Hindu goddess; it really was a fine Genoa blade. The third article was a coat of mail, which he would wear generally under a cotton dress, and in hot weather under a muslin dress, so that he would appear to be a very mild character indeed, though, in reality, under the cotton folds was this famous sword, which was to the Marathas what the sword of King Arthur, 'Excalibur,' is in Tennyson's poetry, and inside his hand there was the tiger's claw."

Thus equipped he set forth on his mission—the deliverance of the Maratha nation from Muhammadan tyranny. Having collected a company of mountain-warriors, he seized on the fortress of Torna, and on several other strongholds in Bijapur; wherefore the king of Bijapur called him to account for his conduct, but received no satisfactory answer. A council of war was then held at Bijapur to decide what action should be taken. A Muhammadan general, named Afzal Khan, stood up before the king and said: "O king, if you will give me 2000 horse and 5000 foot, with some artillery, I will go against this mountain-rat, and within two months I will bring him into your presence in an iron cage." Accordingly he marched forth, and, when near Sivaji's stronghold of Partabgarh, was met by some of his ambassadors, very meanly dressed, who assured him that their master was a most humble and unpretending person, with none other than the loyallest thoughts towards the king of Bijapur, and that he would be delighted to receive Afzal Khan in his fort on any morning. The Muhammadan, deceived by the crafty speech, replied that he would not object to pay Sivaji a visit, but that the hills were so steep and the forest was so dense, that he did not know how to get at him. Sivaji at once undertook to clear a

road for his visitor's convenience, and this was carried over the hills and through the forest to the fort of Partabgarh, where a broad open area was provided for the camp of the Muhammadan soldiers. Nothing could be more friendly; but then, this broad open area was surrounded by rocky hills and intricate woods, where Sivaji's marksmen lay in ambush. And Sivaji's next step was to induce Afzal Khan to meet him outside the gates of Partabgarh, each with a single attendant. The Muhammadan, who must have been a man of considerable simplicity, assented to the proposal. At the last moment Sivaji would seem to have had some scruples of conscience, and to have hesitated to commit the crime for which he had made such elaborate preparations. So he repaired to a little temple on the crest of a neighbouring hill, where he had arranged to meet his mother, and into her loving ear he poured his confidences. "Shall I kill this man," he said to her, "as I have planned? And when I have killed him shall I order all my men in the thickets to fire upon the Muhammadan camp?" "Yes," she replied. "In this very temple I have consulted the goddess Siva, the goddess of destruction—her after whom, remember, you are named." She had seen the goddess in a vision, she said, and the goddess had commanded her to take care that not one Muhammadan, if possible, should escape alive. "Now, my son," she added, "act worthily, even as I have advised you, and my blessing shall go with you."

As I have said, all Sivaji's Marathas, several thousands in number, lay hidden in the forest, with orders that as soon as a signal-gun was fired from a bastion of the fort they were to discharge their matchlocks on the unsuspecting Muhammadans. In the morning, Afzal Khan left his camp and proceeded to the appointed meeting-place, while at the same moment Sivaji advanced from his fort. As he moved slowly forward, with downcast eyes and hesitating steps, the Muhammadans said to one another, "What a meek, lowly-looking person is this Maratha chief!" He was accompanied by one attendant, Tannaji, his faithful kinsman, as brave a man as the Maratha race ever produced. As he drew near, the Muhammadan

general also advanced with an attendant, and held out his arms to embrace Sivaji with the usual words of greeting. And Sivaji, bowing his head humbly beneath the Muhammadan's arms, drew close up to his body, and with the tiger's claw already described dug into his victim's entrails; then out came the dagger, followed by a desperate stab; and then out came the sword, and Afzal Khan lay dead upon the ground, together with his attendant, whom Tannaji had meanwhile dispatched. As the Khan fell the signal-gun was fired, and immediately the surrounding forest was lit up with flames and a storm of bullets crashed in upon the Muhammadan camp. So complete was the surprise and so skilfully laid the ambush, that very few of the Muhammadans escaped; and Sivaji, issuing from his mountain-home, overran the whole country, and led his soldiers to the very gates of the city of Bijapur. He subdued the maritime district of the Konkan, and occupying the coast-fortress of Panalla, set to work to equip a fleet, which considerably increased his offensive powers. At length, the king of Bijapur was glad to conclude a treaty of peace, which left the Maratha chief in possession of a considerable territory, with an army of 50,000 foot and 7000 horse. But his success had awakened the jealousy of the Delhi Emperor, Aurangzeb, who dispatched against him a large force. Sivaji, however, still enjoyed the favour of Fortune, and after an indecisive campaign was left to meditate on fresh schemes of aggression. He resolved to attempt the capture of Surat, which was then the great depôt of the wealth and commerce of the East. Its inhabitants, apprehending no danger, had contented themselves with the simple defence of a small low earthwork. Disguising himself, Sivaji carefully explored the prosperous city, marking out the most valuable spoil, and selecting the best points of attack. He then invested Bassein and Chaul, and appeared to be absorbed in the siege of these towns, when he suddenly withdrew the main body of his troops from the former and swooped down upon Surat. No resistance was possible. The governor retired to the fort, the English and Dutch merchants to their factories, while the Marathas plundered the place at their pleasure, and decamped with a booty valued at one million sterling.

Aurangzeb dispatched another large army to crush this audacious freebooter, and placed in command one of his ablest generals, the Mirza Raja. Sivaji was outnumbered and outgeneralled. He was beaten back from point to point; his strongholds were captured one after the other; and when his great mountain-fastness, Sing-garh, was surrounded by a force with which it was impossible for him to grapple, he hastened to Delhi and offered his submission. Aurangzeb detained him on various pretences, and finally threw him into prison. It was not long before he effected his escape. He was wont to have capacious baskets of fruits and flowers sent to him every day, and one fine morning he hid himself in one of the baskets, and was carried out in the belief that the basket contained only the fruit and flowers which had decayed. Outside the city he met the redoubtable Tannaji, and, disguising themselves, the two men actually walked all the way from Delhi to Poona. He afterwards retired to Haidarabad and his native hills, where his faithful Marathas speedily gathered round him.

Once more Sivaji took the field. One by one he recovered his fortresses, and Surat he plundered for the second time. His successes inflamed his imagination, and assuming the title (Raja) and pomp of royalty, he caused himself to be crowned after the manner of the Mughals, and with a splendour which his wealth and power fully justified (1674). It is recorded that he weighed himself in a balance against gold, and distributed the precious counterpoise among his faithful spearmen. About two years later he made a sudden descent upon Golconda and exacted an immense ransom. Then he ravaged the Karnatic, capturing and garrisoning some of its strongest places. But his extraordinary career, which, I think, has few parallels in history, was abruptly terminated in 1680, at the age of fifty-three. He died at his great stronghold of Raigarh, where he had stored up the riches of half India,—“treasures in Spanish dollars, sequins, and the coins from all Southern Europe and all Asia.”

He was succeeded by his son Sambhaji, who, after committing horrible crimes, died a horrible death. He was sur-

prised in his summer pavilion by a party of Mughal soldiers, and conveyed to Aurangzeb's camp, where his eyes were seared with red-hot irons, and his tongue was cut out, and his head struck off. His successor was his younger brother, Raja Ram, who, after a life of warfare, died early from the rupture of a blood-vessel, caused by over-exertion during a protracted march. Shao or Sahû, son of Sambhaji, had been brought up in the court of Aurangzeb, and ascended the Maratha throne as a feudatory of Delhi. "He reigned a *fainéant*, as a puppet of those about him, and was afflicted by an hallucination respecting a faithful dog that had saved his life in a tiger-hunt. He would seat the animal on the throne beside him, place his own turban on its head, sit bareheaded in its presence, and have it carried with pomp in a sedan-chair. During his lucid intervals, however, he emitted sparks of a strange wit."

Shao died in 1749. The dynasty of Sivaji then ceased to rule, and the Peshwa or chief minister (literally "the foremost," the premier) became the actual governor and head of the Maratha state. This dignity was made hereditary, and lasted for five eventful generations. Thus it was with the Peshwa, as the representative Maratha, that Warren Hastings or the Marquis Wellesley contended in the cabinet, and Lord Lake or Sir Arthur Wellesley in the field, while the Maratha sovereigns of Sivaji's line were guarded in a palace-fortress as the shadows of a great name. But so great was the respect, even in an age of violence, paid to the hereditary principle, that each Peshwa on his accession was formally invested by the titular king descended from Sivaji.

"While the Maratha chiefs," says Sir Richard Temple, "were men of a humble and unlettered caste, the Peshwas were Brahmans of the highest and most cultured caste. The Peshwa family sprang from a little village which may still be seen nestling near the base of the Ghat Mountains in the littoral tract known as the Konkan. This family founded and preserved for more than a hundred years the dynasty which presided over the fitful fortunes of India, and of one among the most populous empires in the globe. This then was a Brahman dynasty, and as such was perhaps unique in [the diversified

history of India, almost all, if not absolutely all, other dynasties having belonged to lesser castes or races."

The founder of the hereditary Peshwaship was Balaja Vishwanath, a man of rare intellectual gifts, with an imaginative temper, an ambitious disposition, an aptitude for ruling rude natures by moral force, a faculty for diplomatic combinations, and a mastery of finance. But suffering from delicate health and over-refinement of physique, he shrank from the rough violence of the scenes in which, nevertheless, his imperial ambition constrained him to mix. Among other defects, he was a timid and awkward horseman, "a real misfortune in the Maratha dominions." It so happened that his political necessities impelled him into affairs which must keenly have wounded his sensitive nature. "He had a sharp brush with the pirates on the coast near Bombay. Once in the uplands of the Deccan he was captured and subjected to the Maratha discipline of a horse's nose-bag full of glowing ashes or of hot pepper being fastened over his nose and mouth. Once he eluded capture by hiding for several days in the wilderness. More than once he was threatened with death, for which he doubtless prepared himself with all the stoicism of his race, when a ransom opportunely arrived." In 1720 he obtained from the Mughal a formal recognition of Maratha sovereignty, and in the following year died, full of honours, at the age of ninety-two.

He was succeeded by his son, Baji Rao, who was greater in the field than in the council, and under whose active direction the Marathas spread terror over the Indian peninsula from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Ocean. His eldest son, Balaji Baji Rao, assumed the reins of government in 1740. A skilful organiser and administrator, he knew how to select able men to carry out his designs. His military operations were conducted by two adventurers, Sindhia and Holkar, who won several successes, but in 1761 were defeated by the Afghans and Muhammadans at Panipat—a disaster which literally broke the heart of the Peshwa. Madhu Rao, the fourth Peshwa, lives in history as a ruler endowed with all the highest virtues; but unfortunately for his people he died in

1772, at the early age of twenty-eight. As he left no issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Narayon Rao, then only eighteen years old, as fifth Peshwa. A few months after his investiture and installation, however, he was murdered in broad daylight within his own palace at Poona, clinging vainly to the neck of a faithful servant, and his throne was usurped by his uncle, Raghuba. A period of civil commotion followed. The Marathas regarded Raghuba as the real author of the conspiracy which had brought about the death of Narayon Rao, and when the widow of the latter gave birth to a posthumous son, Madhu Rao Narayon, they made haste to invest him with the dignity of Peshwa.¹

Raghuba, by bribes and promises, contrived to rally to his standard some 7000 spearmen, with whom he rode into Malwa to seek the support of Sindhia and Holkar, while at the same time he made overtures to the Government of Bombay. British assistance was offered under certain conditions, including the cession of Bassein and Salsette; and these being accepted, a contingent of 2500 Europeans and sepoys was sent to join Raghuba. Meanwhile Nana Farnaris, who, as minister, ruled (and with a strong hand) in the name of the infant Peshwa, sought the French alliance. Hastings—to whom our narrative now returns—immediately urged the Bombay Government to throw all their energies into the work of replacing Raghuba at the head of the Maratha power. He himself made an effort to secure the co-operation of Mudaja Bhonsla, the Raja of Berar, and he dispatched an expeditionary force, under Colonel Goddard, an officer in whom he had great confidence, to co-operate with the Bombay contingent. Before the end of January 1779, Goddard had marched across India, without resistance, as far as Burhanpur,² where he received

¹ At this time the Marathas had broken up into five branches, with the Peshwa as their nominal centre. Their respective headquarters were: Poona, the seat of the Peshwas; Nagpur, the capital of the Bhonslas, in Berar; Gwalior, the residence of Sindhia; Indore, the capital of Holkar; and Baroda, the seat of the rising power of the Gaekwars. The present Gaekwar visited England in 1887.

² *Burhanpur*, lat. 21° 18' 33" N.; on the N. bank of the river Tapti; population, 30,017.

intelligence of the disaster which had befallen the Bombay column. Starting from Panwell on the 25th of November, it spent nearly a month in crossing the Ghats, and on the 9th of January 1779 had arrived within eighteen miles of Poona. Here its commanders were seized with a sudden panic. They ordered a retreat; the heavy guns were thrown into a lake, and the column would have been destroyed but for the courage and composure of Captain Hartley and his sepoy, who covered the rear. On the 13th the British generals branded themselves with shame by signing the Convention of Wargaum, which surrendered to the Marathas all that the British arms had won in Western India since 1765.

Hastings at once refused to acknowledge the disgraceful compact, and sent orders to Goddard to wrest a new treaty from Nana Farnaris, who replied by an attempt to unite Haidar Ali and the Nizam in a league against the British. In January 1781 Goddard once more set his bayonets in motion, captured Ahmadabad,¹ and twice defeated the combined armies of Sindhia and Holkar. Another Bengal column, under Popham, crossed the Jumna, drove Sindhia's Marathas before it, and attacked the fort of Lahar.² This force consisted of 2400 infantry, a small body of cavalry, and a detail of European artillery, with a howitzer and a few field-pieces. The fort proved to be much stronger than had been expected. It was imperfectly breached, but as his light field-pieces could produce no further impression, Captain Popham resolved on the desperate expedient of storming. By almost incredible efforts a lodgment was effected. Dreadful slaughter ensued on both sides. The enemy defended themselves with desperation, and it was not until the garrison, which had consisted of 500 men, had been reduced to their *kiladar* and a few of his dependants, that quarter was demanded. The British lost 125 men. In August this exploit was rivalled by the glorious achievement of Captain Bruce, who, with two

¹ *Ahmadabad*, lat. 23° 1' 45" N.; 310 miles N. from Bombay; population, 127,621.

² *Lahar*, lat. 26° 11' 5" N.; east of the river Sont; 50 miles from Gwalior, and 85 miles from Agra.

companies of Popham's sepoys and twenty British soldiers, carried the celebrated rock-fortress of Gwalior itself.¹ Before the end of the year Goddard had captured Bassein, and Hartley completely defeated 20,000 Marathas after a fierce two days' fight. Sindhia's power was so broken by these disasters that he made submission to the British Government, and the first Maratha war was ultimately concluded in 1782 by the treaty of Salbai,² which restored to the Peshwa Bassein and the other territory captured by the British during the war, and ceded to the East India Company the Salsette, Elephanta, Karanj, and Hog Islands, off Bombay. The child Peshwa was confirmed in his sovereignty, and a handsome pension was settled upon Raghoba.

The Second Mysore War.

The genius of Hastings, meanwhile, was called upon to deal with a more formidable enemy. Mismanagement on the part of the Madras authorities had filled the mind of Haidar Ali, the sovereign of Mysore, with an intense hatred of the British, against whom, in 1780, he joined in confederacy with Sindhia and Holkar, who were to operate against Bombay, and the Raja of Nagpur, who was to invade Bengal. But Haidar was ready before his allies; and, to the surprise of the British authorities, quitting Seringapatam early in June, with a splendid army, equipped and trained by French officers—an army consisting of 40,000 peons, 15,000 regular infantry, and 28,000 cavalry, besides 2000 rocket-men, 5000 pioneers, and about 400 French—he passed like a torrent of fire through the mountain passes into the plains of the Karnatic, his terrible march being indicated by the blackened ruins of villages—by desolated fields and pastures—by the dead bodies that lay in ghastly heaps among the wrecks of quiet homes—by tearless widows and orphans crouching in pathetic groups along the wayside. As soon as the Madras Government recovered their

¹ *Gwalior*, lat. 26° 13' N.; 65 miles S. from Agra; contains remarkable Hindu temples and palaces.

² A village in Gwalior (Central India).

composure, they sent Sir Hector Munro to take the command at Conjeveram, where about 5000 men with 40 guns were assembled ; while Colonel Baillie with 2800 men was marching thither to join him. By September 9th, Baillie had gallantly fought his way to a point within about fourteen miles of Conjeveram, the great pagoda of which could be seen with glittering dome rising above its belt of trees. Munro moved forward a few miles towards his colleague, and Haidar's army, which lay between, was about to retreat, lest it should be taken between two fires, when Munro's nerve forsook him, and he halted his troops, contenting himself with sending Colonel Fletcher and 1000 men to strengthen Baillie's little force. Next day Haidar Ali attacked Baillie with his tens of thousands ; though the British fought with a desperate courage worthy of the race, they were crushed by numbers. About 300 officers and men, most of whom were wounded, surrendered, and were saved from slaughter only by the interposition of Haidar Ali's French officers. Pressed for supplies and broken down by a catastrophe which he ought to have prevented, Munro threw his heavy guns into a tank, abandoned a good deal of his baggage, and retreated rapidly to St. Thomas's Mount, near Madras.

In that dark hour Hastings proved himself equal to the need. The war with the Marathas was raging in the west, the hostility of the Raja of Berar might at any moment be declared, and the Tiger of Mysore was preparing to spring upon Madras. But, with the composure of conscious strength, Hastings, having obtained from his Council a vote for the immediate dispatch of troops and money to the seat of war, devised a succession of skilful measures to meet the pressing danger. He suspended the Governor of Madras ; kept back the usual yearly remittances to the Company ; raised a war-loan in Calcutta ; dispatched reinforcements to Madras, and placed Sir Eyre Coote at the head of the forces which were being raised to encounter Haidar Ali. He concluded peace with the Marathas, and by his skilful diplomacy secured the friendship of the Raja of Berar.

On the 17th of January 1781. with 7000 men, of whom about

1700 were English, Coote took the field, and advanced to relieve Wandiwash, which a young officer named Flint and a garrison of 300 sepoys had held with brilliant tenacity. On his approach the enemy hastily retired. Coote recovered or relieved two other fortresses, and then struck off southward for Cuddalore. The supplies to be brought by the fleet were, however, too long in coming, and it was mid-June before he could make a dash at the strongly fortified pagoda of Chilambaram¹—a bold but fruitless passage of arms. After this discomfiture, Coote was resting his troops at Porto Novo,² when he learned that Haidar Ali, with an army of 60,000 men, had thrown himself across the road to Cuddalore, and was strongly entrenching himself. On the 1st of July Coote moved his 8000 men against the enemy, outflanked him by a well-executed movement, and then striking hard at his centre, split up his unwieldy host, after six hours' desperate fighting. The Mysoreans carried off all their guns, but left thousands of killed and wounded on the field. Coote's loss was 300. Haidar, seated on a portable stool upon a rising ground in the rear of his army, burst into a tempest of passion when he saw the success of the gallant "red coats" of Britain. At first he refused to quit the scene of disaster; but a faithful old servant forcibly drew his slippers on his feet, and mounting him on a swift horse, bore him speedily to a place of safety.

In August the two armies met at Porambakam, the scene of Baillie's misfortune in the previous year, and Haidar Ali was driven back upon Sholingarh.³ Here, on the 29th of September, for the third time Coote attacked him, and with so much fervour, and such a determination to win decisively, that the Mysoreans lost heart, and, after some rapid firing,

¹ *Chilambaram* ("atmosphere of wisdom"), lat. 11° 24' N.; 25 miles S. of Cuddalore; its great temple may have been built as early as the fifth century.

² *Porto Novo* (*Feringhipet*), lat. 11° 29' N.; on the sea-coast, 145 miles S. of Madras, and 32 miles S. of Pondicherri, at the mouth of the river Vellar; population, 7823.

³ *Sholingarh*, lat. 13° 7' N.; population, 5697; has a famous temple seated on a high rock.

broke their ranks and fled in confusion and dismay, leaving 5000 killed and wounded on the bloody field (A.D. 1781).

By this time the Dutch also had joined in the war; but, under the inspiration of Hastings, the Madras Council acted with energy and decision. The Dutch settlement of Nagapatam was captured in November by a body of troops under Sir Hector Munro, assisted by the British fleet under Sir Edward Hughes. Early in 1782, Trincomali, with the finest harbour in Ceylon, fell into our hands. The year 1782 witnessed the dreary prolongation of the war.

Vellore, a strongly fortified town on the river Palar, about eighty miles from Madras, had been invested by Haidar Ali in 1780; but the garrison held out against overwhelming numbers with splendid resolution, though several times in the course of the siege the stock of rice—indispensable for the native troops—was scarcely adequate for three days' consumption, and the energies of the Madras Government and Sir Eyre Coote were severely taxed to throw in the necessary supplies. Wilks says: "This fortress, nearly an exact square, still exhibiting in its antique battlements for matchlocks and bows and arrows the evidence of no modern date, was built according to the ideas of strength which prevailed at the period of its erection, when the use of cannon was little understood, close to a range of hills, to favour the introduction of supplies or the eventual escape of the garrison; and thus situated, it is also commanded by those hills—a defect which its Maratha and Muhammadan conquerors remedied in part by fortifying the points which overlooked it. These points, as the use of artillery came to determine the defence of places, became accordingly the keys of the fort below; for although surrounded by a rampart of masonry, which might be deemed cyclopean, and a wet ditch of great breadth, the possession of these points would command in flank and reverse (although at too great a distance for certain effect) three faces of the fort, and would leave but one face affording good cover. The arrangements of the siege, directed by French officers, were judiciously directed to two simultaneous operations, the principal hill-fort being the primary object, while approaches and

batteries from the west were pushed on to the proper positions for breaching the south-western face of the lower fort and enfilading that next to the hill, which, in the want of success in the primary object, would alone afford adequate cover to the garrison from the fire of the hill." When a practicable breach was effected, the besiegers rushed to the assault with great determination, but were met with equal determination, and, after a desperate passage of arms, repulsed with such slaughter that no further attack was hazarded. The siege was reduced to a blockade, which the garrison heroically withstood for two years, until finally relieved by Sir Eyre Coote in 1782. It is strange that this brilliant episode, so honourable to our arms, should almost be forgotten, when incidents of less importance and inferior interest are recorded by the historian with all the rhetoric of eulogy.

The relief of Vellore was unfortunately counterbalanced by the severe reverse which our arms sustained in Tanjore, a British column under Colonel Braithwaite being cut to pieces by Tipu Sahib's army, after a desperate contest, prolonged for twenty-six hours. The fortune of war, in this eventful year, seems to have been balanced almost evenly between the British and their enemies. Tellicherry,¹ on the Malabar coast, had been besieged by Haidar's general, Sardar Khan, from 1780, but on the arrival of a reinforcement from Bombay under Major Abingdon, the garrison made an effective sortie and compelled the enemy to raise the siege. On the other hand, Cuddalore was taken by the Mysoreans with the assistance of their French auxiliaries; and Trincomali was bombarded by the French admiral Suffrein. The war-worn Coote, with an energy which seemed to defy old age, once more rescued Wandiwash; and under the walls of Arni² inflicted a sharp defeat on the troops of Haidar Ali and Lally, capturing the fort, with all the immense military stores which Haidar had accumulated within its formidable ramparts. But Colonel

¹ *Tellicherry*, lat. 11° 44' N.; factory established here in 1683; population, 26,410.

² *Arni*, lat. 12° 40' 23" N.; on the W. bank of the Chegar; 16 miles S. of Arcot; 400 feet above sea-level.

Humberstone, in the Malabar district, struggled with difficulty against the immense odds which Tipu brought against him. Forced to abandon the siege of Palyhat, he made a stand at Ponani,¹ where he was reinforced by Colonel Macleod, with a column sent from Bombay by sea; and turning upon Tipu's forces, repulsed them gallantly. But the pressure of the enemy compelled him to fall back, and after a storm of five days' continuance, which scattered the boats of the expedition, spoiled their provisions, and damaged their ammunition, Humberstone took refuge in Tanur.² He was delivered from further misadventure by the news of Haidar Ali's death, which called Tipu away with the main body of his army to the camp at Chitur, where his great father had expired, at the age of eighty, on the 7th of December, lamenting with his last breath that he had waged war "with a nation whom he might have made his friends, but whom the defeat of many Baillies and Braithwaites would never destroy."

Confident in the support of his French allies, Tipu prepared to carry on the war against the British, if not with his father's genius, at all events with his father's resolution. At first it seemed as if fortune intended to favour him, as it had favoured his father. The death of Sir Eyre Coote in April 1783, two days after his landing at Madras, deprived Hastings of his best general; and Tipu, withdrawing all his forces from the Karnatic, prepared to direct them against the British in the west, where Matthews, a very inefficient commander, had taken Bidnar. With considerable ability he collected his masses around this important town, completely surprising Matthews and cutting his communications with the sea. After a spirited defence the garrison capitulated, on condition that they should be conducted safely to the coast. As soon as the gates were thrown open, Tipu hastened to the treasury, and broke into a storm of rage when he found it empty. He ordered the British officers to be searched, and unfortunately

¹ *Ponani*, lat. $10^{\circ} 47' 10''$ N.; a busy seaport with large trade in salt; population, 12,421.

² *Tanur*, lat. $10^{\circ} 58'$ N.; at the mouth of a stream flowing into the Arabian Sea; 546 miles from Bombay.

money and jewels to a large amount were found upon their persons. Declaring them to have been guilty of a breach of faith, he refused to fulfil the terms of the capitulation, loaded his prisoners with irons, and flung them into the different prisons of Mysore.

Encouraged by this signal success, Tipu marched against the fortress of Mangalore,¹ which Colonel Campbell, with a garrison of only 1800 men, gallantly defended, carrying out his resistance until his effective force was reduced to 800 men. The nine months during which Tipu was detained before this fortress enabled the British to organise an effective campaign. With an army of Europeans and sepoys about 13,600 strong, Colonel Fullerton penetrated into the very heart of Mysore, while its sovereign was wasting his resources before stone walls. His march was an uninterrupted series of victories. On November 15th he captured Pulghat; on the 26th, Coimbatore; and on the 28th was preparing to cross the Ghats and dictate terms of peace under the walls of Seringapatam, when, to his regret and indignation, he was ordered to fall back, in compliance with a truce which Tipu had arranged but was openly breaking. Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, disregarding the advice, and even the commands of Hastings, persisted in pressing forward negotiations with the Sultan, who, however, would not receive the British commissioners until Mangalore had surrendered in January 1784, and then, as a deliberate insult, raised gibbets in front of their tents. But their instructions were peremptory, and disregarding the mode of their reception, they negotiated a treaty by which it was agreed that both parties should restore their conquests and Tipu release his prisoners. Of these, many had perished by poison or crueller forms of death, but 190 officers and 900 soldiers, who had survived the cruel indignities heaped upon them, were now set free. Few more unfavourable treaties had been made by the British in India since they first obtained a footing on its soil; but, bad as it was in itself, much worse were the circumstances under which it was con-

¹ *Mangalore* (Mangala, "fortunate"), lat. 12° 51' 40" N.; a thriving seaport; population, 32,099.

cluded, since they inflamed Tipu's natural arrogance and confirmed him in his insane idea of the decrepitude of the British power. "On the occasion of the signature of the treaty," said his scribes, "the English commissioners stood with their heads uncovered and the treaty in their hands for two hours, exhausting every form of flattery and supplication to induce the Sultan's compliance. The vakils of Poona and Haidarabad united in the most abject entreaties; and his Majesty, the shadow of God, was at length softened into assent" (March 11, 1784).

Only two more incidents need to be glanced at in connection with the government of Warren Hastings, and both of these occurred while the war with Mysore was in progress. These are generally known as the plunder of Chait Singh and of the Begam of Oudh. Upon these incidents the enemies of Hastings afterwards based the most formidable articles of their grave indictment. They are set forth in full details, and with every complication that his rich rhetoric could suggest, in Lord Macaulay's famous essay, but here they will be described, as briefly and as simply as is possible, by one who writes in no spirit of partisanship.

Chait Singh, an illegitimate son of the Raja of Benares, was recognised as his successor by the British in 1770, and the Wazir of Oudh, at the instigation of the British authorities, also recognised him. Five years later the Wazir ceded the sovereignty of the Benares estate to the British, who confirmed Chait Singh in possession, April 15, 1776. In 1778 he was required to pay a tribute of five lakhs for the maintenance of a battalion of sepoys, and a similar sum for the same purpose was exacted in 1779 and 1780. In the latter year, when the British in India were contending against the formidable league of Haidar Ali, the Nizam, and the Marathas, Hastings called upon him to furnish a contingent of 1500 cavalry. He returned an evasive answer, but sent not a single sabre. To punish him for his want of loyalty, the Governor-General

imposed a fine of fifty lakhs, or £500,000. In August 1781 Warren Hastings made a progress to Benares, and finding that the Raja still maintained his attitude of contumacy, he gave orders that he should be arrested in his palace (on the 17th). Unfortunately the Governor-General was attended by an inadequate escort, and a riot occurring, the Raja stole away to Ramnagar, and Hastings found himself shut up in Benares with a small force of thirty Englishmen and fifty sepoy, the rest having been massacred. But the rabble had no leader, and troops from the nearest garrisons marched at once to the rescue of a governor who was the idol of the whole army. Among the first to reach him was the gallant Popham, with several hundreds of his own sepoy. Faithful messengers carried the news of his danger and orders for help to be sent up to Chunar, Lucknow, and Mirzapur. But the threatening aspect of affairs impelled him to escape by night to the river-fortress of Chunar; a notable hegira, immortalised by the people in the following distich—

“Ghoré par haudah, kathi par zin,
Saldî bhâg guya Warren Hastin.”

Which has thus been Englished :

“Saddle on elephant, howdah on steed,
Rode Warren Hastings away with speed.”

The Raja maintained his rebellious attitude until September, when Colonel Popham routed his followers at every point, and drove him to seek shelter in his last stronghold of Bijigarh, whence, as the British advance continued, he fled into Bundelkhand. The capture of Bijigarh on November 10th, with a booty of £400,000, terminated the campaign. Hastings declared Chait Singh to have forfeited British protection, and conferred the Rajaship on his nephew, Mahipnarayan. Chait Singh withdrew to Gwalior, where he died in 1810. The criminal administration of the state and the civil administration of the city were taken from the Raja and assumed by the British.

The Begam, or queen-mother, of Oudh was accused by

Hastings, but unquestionably on very slight evidence, of having encouraged the Raja of Benares in his rebellion. Hastings laid a heavy fine upon her, which she resisted to the utmost ; but with the complicity of her son, the Wazir of Oudh, and by means of heavy pressure put upon herself and two eunuchs, who were thrown into chains and half starved, upwards of a million sterling was extorted from the unfortunate princess and poured into the British treasury. Another Begam—the grandmother of the Wazir—was involved in this spoliation, by which the Wazir enriched himself and also got rid of a large debt to the Company.

Closing Years of Hastings' Career—His Trial and Death.

In 1785 Hastings gave up the reins of government, which he had held with so firm and resolute a grasp, with so indomitable an industry, and so prudent, patient, and successful a statesmanship ; and on the 8th of February sailed from Calcutta to return to the home-land, from which he had been absent for sixteen eventful and laborious years. On the 13th of June he landed at Plymouth.

He was received at court and by the Directors of the Company with the welcome due to the man who had raised so splendid an administrative fabric on the territorial foundations laid by Clive, and had so carefully strengthened while extending British government in India. Among the King's Ministers, Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, greeted him as a true friend ; even Mr. Dundas, who, under the new Act,¹ had become President of the new Board of Control, received him with eulogistic effusion. Both publicly and privately he was overwhelmed with praise of his illustrious services. "I find myself everywhere and universally," he wrote, "treated

¹ Pitt's celebrated India Act of 1784 prepared the way for the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, inasmuch as it practically placed the control of affairs in the hands of a Board of Control, composed of six Privy Councillors. Of the twenty-four Directors of the Company, three were formed into a Secret Committee under the orders of the Board.

with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of the country."

His boyhood's dream of repurchasing Daylesford, the original home of his family, he was not able to realise until 1788. In the interval he resided on a small estate in Old Windsor called Beaumont Lodge, when not in London or travelling about the country. In the society of his friends and in the literary pursuits he affected his time was pleasantly spent, and he was looking forward to many years of happy leisure, when Burke, at the instigation of Francis, laid before the House of Commons numerous charges arising out of his Indian administration. The first list, presented on April 4, 1786, included eleven articles; as many more were afterwards added. In the beginning of June, after Hastings had been heard in his defence, the House refused to find him guilty of hiring out British soldiers "for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people inhabiting the Rohillas;" but on the 13th Pitt and Dundas coming to the aid of the accusers, who on this occasion were led by Fox, he was condemned by a large majority of wanton cruelty and gross extortion in his treatment of Chait Singh.

Early in the session of 1787 his conduct towards the Begams of Oudh was made the subject of an elaborately brilliant oration by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and the House decided against him by a majority of nearly three to one (175 against 68). In the same way he was found guilty on most of the remaining charges; and finally, on the 3rd of April, the Commons resolved to impeach the late Governor-General at the bar of the House of Lords. His trial was fixed for the 13th of February 1788, and the Commons' managers included the famous leaders of the Whig party, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, Sheridan, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Windham, and Charles Grey. The scene in Westminster Hall on the opening day has been described by Macaulay in one of his most eloquent passages. "Neither military nor civil pomp," he says, "was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under garter king-at-arms.

The judges, in their vestments of state, attended to give advice on points of law. Near 170 lords walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl-marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the pens or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art."

The chief actor in this pageant is rightly spoken of as not unworthy of its splendour. "He had ruled an extensive and populous country, had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory except virtue. He looked like a great man and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn but serene, on which was written as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, '*Meus aqua in arduis.*' Such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges."¹

Two days were occupied in the reading of the charges and the defendant's answers, and then the case for the prosecutors was opened by Burke in a speech which lasted four days, and reviewed Hastings' whole career from the standpoint of a lofty

¹ It may be noted that he was dressed "in a plain poppy-coloured suit of clothes."

but narrow prejudice. Its undoubted power was considerably impaired by its violence of invective and luxuriance of abuse. The orator made no attempt to control his passion, and his want of moderation weakened the force of his argument. He spoke of Hastings as "a captain-general of iniquity, one in whom all the fraud, all the tyranny of India are embodied, disciplined, and arrayed." He charged him with "avarice, rapacity, pride, cruelty, ferocity, malignity of temper, haughtiness, insolence,—in short, everything that manifests a heart blackened to the very blackest, a heart dyed deep in blackness, a heart gangrened to the core." He "is not satisfied without sucking the blood of fourteen hundred nobles. He is never corrupt without creating a famine. . . . Such are the damned and damnable proceedings of a judge in hell, and such a judge was Warren Hastings." Finally, Burke denounced him as "a captain-general of iniquity, thief, tyrant, robber, cheat, swindler, sharper."

The next sittings of the court were occupied in the discussion of points of procedure, in hearing the speeches of Fox and Grey on the Raja of Benares' charge, in the reading of papers, and the examination of witnesses. And then Sheridan summed up the charge concerning the Begams of Oudh in a speech of the most brilliant character, which lasted two days. Not long afterwards Parliament adjourned for the session, and the court suspended its sittings after spending thirty-five days in hearing two of the twenty charges. In April 1789 the trial was resumed with the charge concerning the receipt of presents. Only seventeen days in this session were employed on the impeachment, and scarcely half the articles of the third charge underwent investigation. In 1790 the trial made but little progress, and the public interest in it had died out, fresh events of greater importance constantly occurring in those troublous times. In 1791, one charge, that of corruption, was brought forward, the remainder having been dropped by general consent. The year's proceedings closed with the reading of the ex-Governor-General's defence. The next two years, 1792 and 1793, were taken up with the speeches of counsel and examination of witnesses in behalf of

Hastings. In 1794 the managers replied upon the several charges and adduced further evidence in completion of the case.

Seven years had now elapsed, seven memorable years, since the day when Hastings was first put upon his trial in Westminster Hall. Great events had been recorded in history during that stirring period, both in Europe and Asia. In France the Revolution had overthrown the monarchy, suppressed the priesthood, and proscribed the nobility; after which it had sent its own leaders, Danton and Robespierre, to the guillotine. The invading armies of the European coalition had been swept back across the French frontiers defeated and disgraced. Lord Cornwallis had returned from India to receive the laurels which he had won by his victorious campaign against Tipu. The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in England, and Burke, in his fanatical terror of the Revolution spectre, had quarrelled with Fox and the old Whig party. The fame of the British navy had been sustained by Earl Howe's famous victory of the First of June. Meantime, Hastings had pursued the even tenor of his way on his estate at Daylesford, rebuilding the manor-house and laying out the pleasure-grounds with admirable taste and great costliness. At length he was summoned, on the 23rd of April 1795, to receive the judgment of the peers on the charges preferred against him. The votes were taken with due formality. On the first article he was acquitted by twenty-three votes to six. On two charges of bribery and corruption he was acquitted unanimously. On the remaining charges, the adverse votes ranged from two to five. The number of peers who had sat through the protracted trial was only twenty-nine; and eighteen of these, including one archbishop and two bishops, found him not guilty on any count. Finally, the Lord Chancellor declared him acquitted "in all things contained" in the articles of impeachment.

But though acquitted, he was ruined, the costs of the trial having been enormous, exceeding £70,000. In the circumstances, these should have been defrayed by his country, as some small acknowledgment of his immense services. in com-

parison with which his errors, such as they were, sunk into insignificance. But Pitt refused to bring his claim before Parliament. The East India Company then stepped forward with becoming liberality to reward the most brilliant of their servants, voting him an annuity of £5000 and a sum sufficient to cover the costs of his defence. But the Board of Control interfered, and the Company was compelled to limit their bounty to a pension of £4000 a year for twenty-eight years and a half, and a loan of £50,000 free of interest for a term of eighteen years. Further, half his yearly pension was stopped to ensure repayment of the loan, and Daylesford was held as security. Some years later, however, the Court decided that the pension should be paid in full.

"From this time forth," says his biographer, "Hastings lived the life of a country gentleman, owning an estate of 650 acres, to whose improvement he set himself with an energy undulled by years and misfortunes. He amused himself with breeding horses, fattening bullocks, growing barley and wheat by new methods, trying new kinds of food upon his cattle, cultivating his gardens, and attempting to raise fruits and vegetables from Indian seeds." His domestic life presents a pleasing picture :—"True to his Indian training, he always rose early and took his cold bath every morning. After spending an hour amongst his books and papers, he breakfasted, always by himself, in his own room, on bread and butter and tea, which he would never allow to be watered twice. When Mrs. Hastings and her guests assembled for breakfast, he would come and entertain them, says Mr. Gleig, with a copy of his own verses on some topic of passing interest, with a passage from some favourite author, or with the latest news contained in the journals of the day. . . . He played to perfection the part of a courteous and kindly host. Whether he sat for a while among his guests in the large library at Daylesford, or shared, as he generally did, in their outdoor amusements, or took his place at the head of his well furnished dinner-table, his presence always added to the enjoyment of those around him. He adapted himself to his company and the mood of the moment, with an easy grace that never overstepped the

bounds of self-respect. He could be grave without dulness, and gay without buffoonery." His own cheerfulness helped to make others cheerful. He had some turn for epigram and repartee, and a keen relish for genuine wit. "He laughed heartily," says Mr. Gleig, "could trifle with the gayest, and thought it not beneath him to relish a pun; but the nearest approach to ribaldry offended his taste, and never failed of receiving from him an immediate check."

On certain points connected with the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813, the evidence of Hastings was felt to be desirable, and accordingly he appeared for a second time at the bar of the House of Commons. The flood of change which had buried the old animosities operated generously enough on this occasion; for when his presence was no longer required, the members rose, as by a simultaneous impulse, and stood bareheaded until he passed out of sight. A compliment of exceptional character, for which Hastings felt particularly grateful.

Our great Anglo-Indian statesman died on August 22, 1818, and was buried in Daylesford church.





CHAPTER III.

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, 1786-1793.

The Third Mysore War—The Permanent Land Settlement.

FOR twenty months the government of British India rested in the hands of Sir John Macpherson, a civil servant of the Company, whose record was uneventful, and whose name is almost forgotten. To him succeeded Lord Cornwallis in September 1786, Cornwallis being the first nobleman of rank and the first professional soldier who held the high office of Governor-General. He was forty-eight years old when he accepted it, and had already proved himself an able and accomplished officer, as well as a man of pure and noble character, and a public servant of spotless integrity. He did not possess the fervent genius of a Clive or the great administrative ability of a Warren Hastings, but he was sagacious, clear-headed, and energetic, with a strict sense of duty, and a fine faculty of patience; and it was pretty certain that in whatever position he was placed, he would do credit to himself and good service to his country. Born on the 31st of December 1738, of a good family, Charles Mann Cornwallis was educated at Eton, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge. He attained no distinction as a scholar, but a touch of scholastic refinement is visible in his dispatches and state papers. At the age of seventeen he entered the army as ensign, and gained much experience of field and camp in the Seven Years' War as aide-de-camp to the Marquis of Granby, a capable and experienced captain. On the death of his father in 1762 he succeeded to the earldom, but continued

devoted to professional service. In 1776 he was promoted to a colonelcy, and in 1778 was gazetted major-general. His political views were broad and liberal, and he opposed with vigour the Government proposals for the taxation of the American colonists; but when the War of Independence broke out, and his regiment was ordered to America, he felt that his convictions as a citizen must not be allowed to conflict with his duty as a soldier, and he accompanied it without hesitation or delay. He earned much renown by his activity and success as a commander under Generals Howe and Clinton in the campaigns of 1778-1779 in New York and the United States; and had he at the outset been intrusted with the direction of the war, it is not impossible that the result might have been different. In the campaign of 1789 he inflicted a severe defeat on the American general, Gates. But in the following year, having, in obedience to orders from his superior, Sir Henry Clinton, withdrawn his army to Yorktown, he was surrounded there by the combined American and French forces under Washington and Lafayette, and no relief arriving, was compelled to surrender, with his whole army and 100 pieces of artillery (October 19). This disaster was in no wise brought about by bad generalship on the part of Cornwallis, and his countrymen, on his return to England, hastened to welcome him with generous compassion and grateful sympathy. Both political parties sought the co-operation of a man whose high character and public services rendered his support of particular value; but in purely party struggles Cornwallis took little interest, and he was glad, no doubt, to be transferred to a field of duty in which he might hope to escape from their narrow motives and little aims, and deal with larger issues in a broad patriotic spirit.

Lord Cornwallis twice held the dignity of Governor-General, his first period extending from 1786-1793, and being distinguished by (1) the third Mysore War, and (2) the introduction of the Permanent Land Settlement into Bengal.

The Third Mysore War, 1790-1792.

The extraordinarily rapid growth of our Indian Empire was strikingly illustrated by some circumstances connected with the beginning of this war, when compared with those under which the campaigns of Clive had been made only some thirty-five years before. Clive, a person of comparatively mean birth, acting as governor of a narrow territory, with no high rank as peer or soldier, at the head of a small and poorly equipped force, and without allies, made war on a scale which was necessarily limited and inadequate. Cornwallis, a nobleman of influential position and an experienced commander, led the army in person, with a magnificence, a pomp, and a luxury which recalled the superb processions of Aurangzeb. As his allies he could boast of two great Powers of Southern India, the Maratha chiefs and the Nizam; and the army of which he took the command was numerically stronger by far than any which the British had hitherto put in the field in India.

Tipu's governing motives of conduct were two: ambition and religious fanaticism. Both had their share of influence in determining him to attack the little kingdom of Travancore, which, behind its mountain-barrier, at the western extremity of the Indian peninsula, had succeeded in preserving its independence until, by the treaty of Mangalore, it had been placed under British protection. The Raja then entered into an agreement with the Company's authorities for a subsidiary force of two British battalions, at a cost of about £650 a month, to be paid in cash or pepper. Tipu, heedless of treaty obligations, and desirous of annexing this fertile and picturesque country, invented a pretext for quarrelling with its ruler, and on December 29, 1789, invaded Travancore, but was defeated with a loss of 2000 men.

The aggressive and restless policy of Tipu and his relentless cruelty had closely engaged the attention of Lord Cornwallis since his assumption of the reins of power; and he now came to the conclusion that British interests and the interests of India generally demanded his repression. For this purpose he negotiated an alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas,

who agreed to attack Tipu both during and after the rains, to supply the British army, if required, with an auxiliary force of 10,000 cavalry, and to allow a British contingent to accompany their own troops. It was also stipulated that an equal division should be made of all conquered territory and forts. Lord Cornwallis then concentrated a numerous and efficient army at Madras, and was preparing to take the command, when General Meadows arrived from England to act as governor and commander-in-chief at Madras. A finer soldier, a more chivalrous and "gentle knight" than Meadows, the whole British army did not boast of. A manly courage, almost verging upon recklessness, was united to a womanly kindness of heart and affability of manner. But the knightly warrior is not always an able general, and Meadows lacked the solid qualities which fit a man for supreme command in the field. His operations soon demonstrated his incapability for conducting a successful campaign, and it became evident that a firmer hand and a stronger will were needed if disgrace were to be averted from the British arms. Cornwallis reverted, therefore, to his original intention, arrived at Madras on December 12th, and before the end of the month took over the command from Meadows. Taking the field early in 1791, and distracting Tipu's attention by a succession of ingenious manœuvres, he suddenly advanced upon Bangalore and invested it on the 7th of March. Two days afterwards the town or pettah was taken. By forced marches Tipu contrived to remove his seraglio and treasures, which had been deposited in the fortress, but the British pressed the siege with energy, and carried it by assault on the 21st. The victors came upon pathetic evidences of the sufferings of their countrymen who had been taken prisoners by Tipu in the former war, and the cell is still shown in which were confined Sir David Baird and a comrade; it measures from twelve to fifteen feet square, and has a roof so low that a man can scarcely stand upright.

Tipu having fallen back upon his great stronghold of Seringapatam,¹ Cornwallis, as soon as he had made provision for the

¹ *Seringapatam*, lat. 12° 25' 33" N.; 75 miles from Bangalore; situated on an island in the Kaveri; population, 11,734.

safety of his conquest, continued his advance, anxiously desiring to terminate the campaign with a decisive victory before the expected war between England and France broke out, and threw the French forces in India on the side of the Sultan. Reinforced by the Nizam's cavalry, who proved, however, of little real service, he arrived before mid-day within ten miles of Seringapatam, only to recognise with bitter disappointment that his means were inadequate to its capture. Tipu drew out his army at Ariakere, in front of his capital, with a ridge of hills on his left and the river Kaveri on his right, as if in bravado of his adversary ; but Cornwallis immediately attacked him and inflicted a severe defeat. Of this victory, however, the Governor-General could take no advantage, as his troops were suffering terribly from want of provisions ; and the surrounding country, desolated by Tipu's orders, yielded neither food nor fodder. General Abercromby's column from Bombay had crossed the friendly Coorg territory in order to co-operate with him, but Cornwallis found it impossible to advance nearer than Kamiambudy (May 28), and was forced to retreat upon Bangalore. The sufferings of the army were terrible. An epidemic carried off large numbers of the cattle, and on their diseased carcasses the camp-followers were obliged to feed, as the supplies of grain had given out. The cavalry horses, starved and exhausted, could no longer carry their riders ; the tents were reduced to tinder, the uniforms of officers and men hung in rags and tatters. At Mitgota, however, a change came over the spirit of the scene. Cornwallis was here joined by the Marathas, whom his scouts had represented to be a hundred and fifty miles distant. Had he known of their proximity, he would have held to his grip on Seringapatam, and probably brought the war to a successful close ; but as it was, their coming up still proved a signal advantage. They had immense supplies, which the British were as eager to purchase as they were to sell. Their camp soon assumed all the peaceful features of a colossal bazaar, where the spoils of the East and the industries of the West were alike displayed ; and the soldier, as he wandered through its tented thoroughfares, might purchase almost anything he fancied,—

broadcloths from the "West Country," razors from Sheffield, penknives from Birmingham ; while the money-changers' tables, glittering with the coins of every Eastern state, pointed to an extent of commercial activity impossible in any camp where plunder was not conducted on a gigantic scale.

Cornwallis rested and refreshed his troops, while carrying out some minor operations, preparatory to a renewal in the following year of his advance upon Seringapatam. A brilliant service was performed by Meadows in the capture of Nandidrug.¹ The fort crowns a huge mass of granite, which rises perpendicularly to a height of 1500 feet. A double line of ramparts was constructed by Haidar Ali and his son Tipu, which on the west is tripled. With extreme labour Meadows got cannon up the lower slope, in the face of rolling volleys from the upper walls, and plied them with so much energy that in twenty-one days two practicable breaches were effected. The storming party was led by Meadows himself, and the fierce assault delivered with a vehemence which nothing could resist. In the clear moonlight of early morning on October 19th, after a desperate struggle, the assailants forced an entry into the inner fort and the enemy surrendered ; their killed and wounded lying everywhere in heaps, though on the British side the loss did not exceed three men killed.

Scarcely less notable was the capture of another celebrated hill-fort, that of Savandrug,² by Colonel Stewart. On the 10th of December he encamped within three miles of the place. Great difficulty was experienced, on account of the nature of the country, in bringing up the battering-train, but a vigorous bombardment was opened on the 20th, and in three days the breach was declared practicable. The assault was delivered on the 20th in the presence of Lord Cornwallis, and the whole line of defence broken through in an hour, without a single casualty on the side of the British.

These splendid successes produced an immense effect on

¹ *Nandidrug* ("the hill-fort of Nandi," Siva's sacred hill) ; lat. 13° 22' N. ; 4840 feet above sea-level.

² *Savandrug*, lat. 12° 55' N. ; also known as the Magadi Hill ; 4024 feet above sea-level.

the Mysoreans, who thenceforward showed a marked disinclination to withstand the attack of our soldiers, and came to look upon them as warriors gifted with invincibility. Early in 1792, having recruited his forces, Cornwallis, accompanied by the armies of the Nizam and the Marathas, renewed his advance upon Seringapatam. It was a splendid sight to see those well-trained battalions which marched under the British flag, 22,000 stalwart warriors, with 42 battering-guns and 44 field-pieces, inspired by a martial confidence in their own military qualities, and in the conduct and experience of their illustrious commander. They came in sight of the frowning battlements of the island-city on the 3rd of February, and Cornwallis resolved on an immediate attack. Seringapatam is situated on an island three miles long and one mile broad, which is formed by a bifurcation of the river Kaveri. The fortress, constructed under the personal direction of Tipu, stands at its upper or western end, with the river immediately beneath it. Its plan is that of an irregular pentagon, and its fortifications were remarkable for their massiveness and solidity, consisting of "wall piled upon wall, and cavalier behind cavalier, the chief characteristic being the deep ditches cut through the solid granite." Protected by the guns of the citadel and by the batteries of the island, Tipu's forces lay between the northern bank of the river and "a strong-bound hedge." Before the citadel could be assaulted, Cornwallis perceived that the enemy must be driven from this commanding position. Accordingly, on the night of the 6th, he drew out his troops in battle-array, placing the right wing under General Meadows, the left under Colonel Maxwell, and himself taking the centre.

"To our native allies," says Kaye, "this movement seemed to be nothing else than a spasm of madness. That a few regiments of infantry, without guns, should be sent forward to attack the enemy in position in a fortified camp, under the shelter of their guns, and that the Governor-General and commander-in-chief should go with the fighting party, as though he were a common soldier, were eccentricities of warfare unaccountable save by the hypothesis of the insanity of the Lord Sahib." But Cornwallis recognised the boldness of

the hazard he was throwing, and desired to give his soldiers the encouragement of his presence. With a fine front the three divisions advanced to the attack. The right, unfortunately, lost its way, but the centre and the left struck direct at the points indicated, and struck with such ardour and resolution that the enemy gave way all along the line, and before morning were in full flight into the fortress, crossing the river and dispersing to their own homes. With a loss of 530 killed and wounded, the victors had inflicted an overwhelming blow. Tipu's killed and wounded exceeded 4000, and fully 16,000 or 17,000 deserted his standard, and never took up arms again. Chagrined and full of fury, the Sultan withdrew from the north bank of the river, and as he trembled for the safety of his capital, he conceived the idea of beating back the British forces by the simple expedient of assassinating their commander. He knew that like snow before the sun an Oriental army dissolves on the loss of its leader, and he concluded that it would be the same with the British columns. So he sent a party of Muhammadan horsemen, drugged to the point of fury with *bang*, to make their way into the English camp, and cut the English leader to pieces in his own tent. A man of simple and unostentatious habits, and ever disinclined for the sake of his own safety or comfort to give trouble to others, the Governor-General and commander-in-chief had always been content with a guard consisting of a couple of troopers of his own escort. If, then, Tipu's horsemen, who, in such a heterogeneous assembly as that which composed the forces of the confederates, might easily have escaped observation, had taken their measures with any calmness and collectedness, they might have accomplished their object. But they went about their work wildly, and they failed. A party of Bombay sepoy's turned out against them, and they fled in dismay from the English camp. After this Lord Cornwallis was reluctantly persuaded to allow a party of English soldiers to mount guard over his tent.

Tipu, on the failure of this foul attempt, saw nothing before him but submission; and when Cornwallis was joined on the 16th by General Abercromby's Bombay column, 6000 strong,

he at once sued for peace, and accepted the terms imposed by the Governor-General, namely, that he should cede half his territory, pay three crores of rupees towards the Company's war expenses, and give up two of his hostages. With strict faithfulness to his engagements, Lord Cornwallis made over to his allies two-thirds of the indemnity and of the territory ceded, the portion reserved for the Company including Dindigal in the south, Baramahal in the east, some of the more important passes into the Mysore, and a large strip of fertile coast-land.

I turn now to glance at Lord Cornwallis's civil labours, which were now more important than, though not so brilliant as, his military achievements. It has been said, with great justice, that if Hastings laid the foundation of our Anglo-Indian administrative system, the superstructure was built up by Lord Cornwallis. It was he who first intrusted criminal jurisdiction to Europeans; who established at Calcutta the Nizam-at-Sadr Adalat, or Supreme Court of Criminal Judicature, and defined and separated the duties of the district collector and the judge. But it is with the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal that his name is chiefly and honourably associated. He studied the question carefully for four years (1786-1790), with the assistance of an able Bengal civilian, John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, that in any action he decided upon justice might be done to all classes. From the moment that the Company became a territorial power this question had pressed for solution. Warren Hastings set it aside by introducing a quinquennial settlement of the land revenue. Cornwallis in 1791 introduced a decennial settlement. Previously the collection of the revenue had proceeded much upon the ancient lines. The zamindars, or Government farmers or tax-collectors, who had a kind of hereditary claim, were recognised as possessing a right to collect the revenue from the actual cultivators. But no principle of assessment had been established, and the variations in the amounts of the annual collection were often startling. Hastings seems to have expected that the average of a certain number of quinquennial settlements would fix the

standard rate of the future, while his rival and antagonist, Philip Francis, had, with more reason, recommended that the state demand should be fixed in perpetuity. This was the view adopted by the home authorities, "partly because it would place their finances on a more stable basis, partly because it seemed to identify the zamindar with the landlord of the English system of property." And therefore Lord Cornwallis, when appointed to the Governor-Generalship, was instructed to introduce, as soon as he saw his way, a Permanent Settlement.

"The process of assessment," says Sir William Hunter, "began in 1789, and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the fields or calculate the out-turn, as had been done by Akbar, and as is now done whenever settlements are made in the British provinces. The amount to be paid in the future was fixed by reference to what had been paid in the past. At first the settlement was called decennial, but in 1793 it was declared permanent for ever. The total assessment amounted to Sikka rupees 26,800,989, or about £3,000,000 sterling for Bengal. Lord Cornwallis carried the scheme into execution; but the praise or blame, so far as details are concerned, belongs to Sir John Shore, whose knowledge of the country was unsurpassed in his time. Shore would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis' preconceived idea of a proprietary body and the Court of Directors' haste after fixity permitted."

The effect of the settlement was to raise the zamindar to the status of proprietor, holding his land at a quit-rent, payable to the state,¹ fixed in perpetuity. In default of due payment, however, his land was to be sold to the highest bidder. While the Government claim against the zamindar was thus permanently settled, the law intended that the zamindar's claim against his tenant should also be equitably restricted. But it so happened that no detailed record of tenant-right was introduced into the settlement papers, greatly to the disadvantage of the tenant; for while the landlord could go into court with a precise legal status, the cultivator could appeal to nothing but a vague "use and wont." As the population rapidly

¹ This land-tax forms the bulk of the revenue of the Indian Government.

increased, and land became a subject of competition among the cultivators, rents rose with rapidity ; nor could the tenant protect himself against extortion, as he occupied no legal position. He could plead nothing, I repeat, but ancient and modified custom ; the landlord could point to a proprietary right based on express sections of the law. The consequence was that the position of the tenant for sixty-five years grew gradually worse.

Though it will be in anticipation of chronological order, I think it will prove convenient to the reader if what has to be said on this subject is said here.

By two stringent "regulations"¹ (in 1799 and 1812) the tenant was placed at the feet of a tyrannical landlord. Though his rent might be excessive, if he failed to pay it, his property was liable to restraint and his person to imprisonment. At the same time, the operation of the revenue sale law had introduced a new race of zamindars, who were not bound to their tenants by any "traditions of hereditary sympathy," and had no other object than to realise the maximum gain out of their recently acquired property. Law courts, unfortunately, yielded little protection to the rack-rented tenant until 1859, when an Act was passed which, in certain specified cases, considerably curtailed the landlord's rack-renting power. This Act divided the cultivators into four classes :—First, those who had held their holdings at the same rates since 1793 ; second, those who had paid the same rent for twenty years ; third, those who had done so for twelve years ; and fourth, those who had held for less than twelve years. As regards the first class, it provided that their rents should not rise at all ; as to the second, it ordained that they should be presumed by law to have held since 1793, unless the contrary was proved ; to the third class it gave a right of occupancy, under which their rents could be raised only for certain specified reasons by a suit at law ; and fourth, the tenants in this class were left by the Act of 1859 to the mercy of their landlords.

These provisions, however, did not prove sufficient to prevent a general increase of rents, and as widespread misery was the

¹ These regulations were the laws and judicial rules of practice, initiated by the Governor-General in Council, &c., which prevailed before the present system of Acts of the Legislative Council was introduced.

result, the Government in 1879 issued a commission of inquiry, which, in its report, recommended that certain privileges should be conferred on cultivators of the third class, giving them an occupancy right or peasant tenure, transferable by sale, gift, or inheritance; and that to the cultivators of the fourth class a quasi-occupancy right should be allowed if they had held for three years. If the landlord demanded an increase of rent, and the tenant preferred to leave rather than pay it, then the landlord would have to pay to him, first, a substantial compensation for disturbance, and, second, a substantial compensation for improvements. These recommendations were practically embodied in the Rent Act of 1885.

With regard to the returns of the land-tax, it may be said that the average rate throughout India is about 2s. per acre of cultivated land, about 2s. 7d. in the Northern Provinces, and 1s. 6d. in the Punjab. It is not easy to say what share of the crops is represented by these figures. Under the Mughals the assessment was fixed at one-third. Under some of the native rulers it was increased to one-half, and under others to three-fifths. The British revenue officers prefer to adhere to the old Mughal rate of a third, but with so many qualifications in favour of the peasant that the Government share is practically reduced to about one-seventeenth. The Famine Commissioners, who have had before them the whole evidence, estimate the tax throughout our Indian Empire at from 3 to 7 per cent. of the "gross out-turn;" that is, an average of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as compared with the 33 to 60 per cent. of the ruling power in olden times.

Under the Mughal empire, the land-tax between 1655 and 1761 averaged 32 millions yearly. Under the British Government, during the ten years 1870-1879 (with a very much larger population), it averaged 18 millions, and for the next four years, 1879-1883, $18\frac{1}{4}$ millions. The *total* taxation of Mughal India averaged about 60 millions; the total taxation of British India is now about 40 millions, though, as already stated, the population has numerously increased. It is estimated that the actual gross taxation in India in the four years ending 1882-1883 did not exceed 4s. 1d. per head. The only other Asiatic empire pretending to a civilised government is Japan. In Japan the taxation amounts to about 6s. per head.



CHAPTER IV.

THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY, 1798-1805.

*Fall of Tipu Sahib—Maratha War—Battle of Assaye—
Capture of Delhi.*

LORD CORNWALLIS left India in 1793, and was succeeded in the Governor-Generalship by Sir John Shore, who ruled from 1793 until 1798, an uneventful period, during which British India was at peace. He was a man of considerable administrative capacity, but deficient in vigorous initiative; and his excess of prudence and dread of responsibility fitted him for a second place rather than for the foremost, and especially for the foremost in an empire which was far from being consolidated, and was surrounded by many and powerful enemies. It must be recorded to his honour that he felt a deep interest in the welfare of the native races of India, and openly declared his desire to treat them with the utmost justice, and even generosity, in order to repair, as far as possible, the wrongs done to them by invasion and annexation. His almost excessive tenderness for the feelings of the native princes induced him to remonstrate with, and at last to censure, Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, for the harsh demeanour he had assumed towards the Raja of Travancore and the Nawab of Arcot. Lord Hobart, whose aristocratic prejudice revolted against what he considered to be the indignity of playing an inferior part to "the son of a supercargo," wrote home in irate language at the beginning of 1796, demanding to be relieved of his post if Sir John Shore retained the Governor-Generalship. Dundas, then President

of the Board of Control, referred the complaints of both to Lord Cornwallis, who, considering the magnitude of the imperial interests involved in the quarrel, could not recommend the continuance in office of either of the disputants. Dundas therefore recalled them, and pressed his adviser to undertake a second time the duties of the Governor-Generalship. Cornwallis reluctantly consented, was sworn into office on the 1st of February 1797, and applied himself at once to the task of reconciling the pretensions of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, who had come into collision on the respective claims of the King's troops and the Indian army. His tact effected an accommodation, but political difficulties soon afterwards arose, which led to his resignation of the Indian proconsulship, to which Lord Mornington, a brilliant young Irish nobleman (previously nominated Governor of Madras), was then appointed. Before sailing he was created Baron Wellesley in the English peerage; and in the middle of December, full of high hopes, and inspired with a great ambition to extend the power and influence of England in the East, he took his departure.

Richard Wellesley, born in Grafton Street, Dublin, on the 20th of June 1760, was the son of Garret, Earl of Mornington and Viscount Wellesley, by the daughter of Arthur Hill of Belvoir, afterwards created Viscount Dungannon. His father was a musician and a musical composer of considerable merit, some of whose glees are still popular among our choirs and choral societies. He sent his son to be educated at Harrow, and afterwards at Eton, where the young Viscount was fortunate in his friends, and was led by their example and instruction to apply his great talents to the pursuits of scholarship. He attained to proficiency in Greek and a rare facility in the composition of Latin verse. At Christ Church, Oxford, he continued his studies for three years, and in 1780 won the prize for the best poem in Latin hexameters on the death of Captain Cook; but he was summoned from his books and his pleasures to attend the death-bed of his father, by whose decease, on May 22, 1781, he became second Earl of Mornington.

The first act of the young peer (he was not yet twenty-one) was to devolve the management of the family estate upon his mother. It was heavily encumbered, and little provision had been made for the younger children; but the young lord insisted that his brother Arthur (the future Duke of Wellington) should be sent to Angers, to undergo an efficient training for the military profession.

Taking his seat in the Irish House of Lords, Mornington plunged at once into the stormy waters of political contention. His sympathies at first were with the Liberal Opposition, and he voted and spoke in favour of Catholic enfranchisement and Irish legislative independence. Grattan had few more faithful followers or private admirers, and the accomplished peer was frequently the channel of communication between the great Irish orator and his political allies in England. But his restless and ambitious spirit sought a wider sphere of action than Dublin afforded, and he accepted with eager pleasure a nomination for the pocket-borough of Buralston, in Cornwall, which he owed to William Pitt. The young minister's keen eye detected the strong will, the courage, and the lofty intellect that lay behind Mornington's coxcombry of appearance and pretentiousness of manner, and showed himself desirous of his friendship. This was readily given. The youthful Irishman, fascinated by Pitt's commanding genius and elevated patriotism, soon became one of his most ardent supporters. In October 1786 he was appointed a Junior Lord of the Treasury. He had not much to do, and what he did do failed to interest him; its small details could not satisfy his aspiring mind, nor did the position afford him any opportunity of displaying the powers he undoubtedly possessed. In 1792 he came before the public with some distinction as an eloquent advocate of the abolition of the Slave Trade. But when Charles Grey brought forward his proposal for electoral reform, Mornington spoke strenuously against it, using the old and effete argument that the country had prospered with its existing institutions, and that if they contained anomalies and defects, it was better to bear with them than to run the risk of such experiments as had demoralised and bewildered revo-

lutionary France. It is interesting to mention that, forty years later, the Marquis of Wellesley supported Earl Grey in carrying an infinitely wider and more sweeping measure of reform.

In June 1793 Lord Mornington was promoted to a seat on the Board of Control ; a few months earlier he had been sworn in a member of the Privy Council. In his new office the work was of a kind which a deputy or a clerk would have done much better ; but it led him to turn his thoughts eastward, and he drew up a careful review of the different stages and extent of European acquisitions in the East, which, at a later time, proved very serviceable to him. Meanwhile he was fretted by the narrowness of his duties. Conscious of no common capacity, he chafed because he was unable to get credit for it. Fitted to play a commanding part in a world-wide stage, he was doomed to a subordinate one on a limited arena, and his restlessness and discontent oppressed him with a constant burden of weariness. Says his biographer : "How early his hopes of promotion turned towards the East is uncertain. Subordinate office, with its irksome yoke of routine, certainty of small pay, and tantalising liability to be asked every now and then for an opinion, which, put aside for the moment, was often without acknowledgment subsequently taken, had lost its charm. He had studied assiduously in his department, though a zealot in the pursuit of pleasure. He always worked perseveringly and patiently ; and in acquiring knowledge or elaborating the exposition of what he had acquired, no time or toil was grudged by him. Still he must have had enough of apprenticeship, and must have longed for the enjoyment of self-assertion and the sense of mastery."

In 1796, his brother, Arthur Wellesley, who was then with his regiment in Ireland, had obtained permission to exchange to one in India, that he might have some opportunity of service in the field. Through Lord Mornington he obtained a letter of introduction from Lord Cornwallis to Sir John Shore. "Colonel Wellesley," he wrote, "is a sensible man and a good officer, who will no doubt conduct himself in a manner to meet your Excellency's approbation." Sir John gave the new-comer a kindly welcome, and found employment for him in the Madras

Presidency, whence the great soldier wrote home to his brother letters full of sound judgment and accurate observation, and marked by that calm and not "common sense" which, in "the hero of a hundred fights," amounted almost to genius.

We have now come down to the time when the offer of the Governor-Generalship of British India opened up to Lord Mornington a field of action wide enough to gratify even his ambition—a field which in all respects was specially adapted to develop the latent resources of his masterful intellect.

Mornington, when he landed at Calcutta, had already resolved on his line of policy. Probably it had been developed in the long and confidential conversations he had held with Pitt, prior to his departure from England, at the famous statesman's favourite seat of Holwood in Kent. "The son of Chatham was a man who, through the openings of Keston woods, saw visions, and in the autumn sundawn dreamed enduring dreams. With axe in hand as he stalked along, putting his companion often out of breath, or resting upon some fallen stem to shelter from the shower, he would point to the excitable imagination of Mornington how England's influence must be expanded, if her sense of power was to be retrieved, or her place in competition with her rivals to be made permanently great. For empire thrown away in the west compensation could be sought only in the east."

Mornington's aim, object, and purpose, therefore, was to establish England as the paramount power in the Indian peninsula. He was the first Anglo-Indian statesman who deliberately conceived and carried out this idea, which has since been accepted as a primary article of our political faith, that England should be the paramount power, and that the native princes should surrender their independence while they were allowed to retain the pomp and privileges of sovereignty. Their intrigues and mutual hostility enabled him to accomplish his design without breaking solemn engagements or doing dishonour to the British name. The splendid empire of the Mughals had fallen into ruins, and the time had come when the sway must pass either to the local Muhammadan rulers, the

nawabs and wazirs created by that empire, to the Hindu confederacy of which the Marathas were the brain and heart, or to the Islanders from over the sea. In Lower Bengal, through the victories of Clive, the statecraft of Warren Hastings, and the resolute policy of Lord Cornwallis, we were already paramount, and had firmly established our power from the mouths of the Ganges to Benares, high up the great river-valley. Our influence extended farther, for the Nawab Wazir of Oudh had agreed to pay a subsidy for the assistance of a British contingent. This subsidy, £760,000 a year, was always in arrears, and the Nawab, in lieu of cash payment, agreed, in 1801, to cede a certain area of territory, the *Doab*, a fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with Rohilkhand.

In Southern India our territories were chiefly limited to the littoral districts of Madras and Bombay. Lord Mornington's great object, therefore, was to extend in the north the British power as far as Delhi, and in the south to compel the Nizam and the other independent princes to acknowledge the supremacy of the Government at Calcutta.

But there was one European power which, in the opinion of the statesmen of those days, might possibly dispute with Great Britain the possession of India. They had good reason to suspect the ambition of France and the aggressive designs of the remarkable man to whom she had confided her destinies. It was their fixed belief that Napoleon, when he had completed his schemes of Continental conquest, would attempt the invasion of India. The islands of Mauritius and Bourbon supplied him with convenient centres for collecting his fleets and armies, and for conducting his intrigues with the native courts. The Sultan of Mysore was known to have entered into a secret correspondence with the French Directorate, and this most tyrannical of rulers had farcically enrolled himself in a republican club as "Citizen Tipu," and allowed a tree of liberty to be planted in his dominions, where no such a thing as individual freedom had ever existed. Again, the Nizam at Haidarabad was guarded by French regiments, who practically held him in strict custody; and the soldiers of Sindhia, the

military chief of the Marathas, were disciplined and led by French soldiers of fortune. These circumstances lent some justification to the alarms of the Anglo-Indian Government, and therefore, to frustrate all possibility of a French invasion was another of the leading principles of the Governor-General's policy.

The Fourth Mysore War, 1799.

The first move in the brilliant game, which he was prepared to play with all the resources of his intellect and all the vigour of his character, was made against Tipu, Sultan of Mysore, whom Lord Cornwallis had defeated, but not subdued. Some years had elapsed since the British had dictated peace to him under the walls of Seringapatam, and he had grown much stronger, while the other native powers in Southern India had grown relatively weaker. Mornington perceived that the Nizam at Haidarabad stood in urgent need of protection, which he on his part was only too willing to afford, and he dispatched Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, a soldier-statesman of proved ability, to Haidarabad to conduct the necessary negotiations. These were so successful that the Nizam consented to the disbanding of his French auxiliaries, and received into his pay a strong British contingent, besides undertaking not to admit any European into his service without the consent of the British Government—"a clause since inserted in every leading engagement entered into with native powers."

Secure of the Nizam's co-operation, the Governor-General prepared to crush the Mysorean ruler, whose intrigues with Republican France were daily increasing in activity. The British demands were accordingly pressed upon him; and he was informed that he must banish all Frenchmen from his dominions, and receive at his court a permanent British resident. For some time Tipu, who was soliciting and expecting French aid, made no reply; and Mornington, who had repaired to Madras, pushed on with fiery energy the preparations of the expedition which he had placed under the command of General Harris. "Six weeks of unremitting toil had been devoted to

superintending every ramification of the comprehensive system of measures deemed necessary for the impending struggle. Difficulties of finance, slackness in the transport of supplies, deficiencies unsuspected in the stores of ammunition for each corps, and shortcomings in the baggage-train; want of appliances for medical aid, and want of horses for reconnoitring service; every conceivable pretext and device of indolence and apathy for procrastination and of avidity for jobbing; the irresolution of native allies and the habitual indifference of Anglo-Indian officials—all had in turn to be dealt with, and their multiplied evils and dangers anticipated and averted.” At length, early in February 1799, the army was ready. It was then that Tipu (on the 13th) forwarded to the Governor-General the following curious missive:—“I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your Lordship’s two friendly communications, the first brought by a camel-man, the second by hircurrahs, and I understand their contents. The letter of the Sultan [of Turkey], in stature like Giamschid, with angels as his guards, with troops numerous as the stars; the sun illumining the world of the heaven of empire and dominion; the luminary giving splendour to the universe of the firmament of glory and power; the sultan of the sea and of the land—the king of Rome, be his empire and his power perpetual—addressed to me, which reached you through the British envoy, and you transmitted, has arrived. Being frequently disposed to make excursions and enjoy the chase, I am now proceeding on a hunting expedition. You will be pleased to send to me Major Doveton, about whose coming, slightly attended, your friendly pen has repeatedly written. Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters notifying your welfare.”

In reply, the Governor-General intimated that Tipu’s letter had arrived too late; that Major Doveton’s accession had ceased to be expedient; but that General Harris, the commander of the British forces, was prepared to receive any embassy which came from the ruler of Mysore. The army of the Karnatic was formidable both from its numerical strength and its splendid equipment. It consisted of 6000

Europeans and 14,800 sepoy, with a battering-train of 40 heavy guns and 65 field-pieces and howitzers. The auxiliaries included 10,000 of the Nizam's cavalry and 10,000 foot, officered by Englishmen, and commanded by Colonel Arthur Wellesley and Captain Malcolm, both of whom were experienced and enthusiastic officers, while General Harris, their chief, was a soldier with a good record, known to be at once bold and prudent, and possessing some knowledge of the conditions of Indian warfare.

The instructions which Harris received from the Governor-General ran as follows:—On crossing the frontier, he was to circulate widely the British declaration of war, and issue a proclamation guaranteeing from molestation all who should not oppose him in arms, and offering protection for life and property to all who furnished cattle, forage, or grain. No pretence of pacific parley was to be allowed to retard his advance on the capital; but if, before it was reached or invested, Tipu should give authentic proof of his readiness to accept the British terms, discretionary power was given to Harris to negotiate. And should he decline to send an embassy before the junction of the invading columns and the formation of trenches round the city, before opening a battery or throwing a shell into the town, the general was directed to communicate to the Sultan, either through his envoys or by flag of truce, the demands of the allies—1. He must agree to the interchange of ambassadors when so required. 2. He must dismiss from his dominions all citizens or soldiers of foreign states at war with Great Britain. 3. He must renounce all connection with France, and debar all her people access to his country. 4. He must cede to the Company the sea-coast of Malabar south of the Ghats, and the district and port of Sacrageni, and make equal concessions of territory to the Nizam and Peshwa. 5. He must renounce his claims to certain districts in dispute between him and his neighbours. 6. One crore and a half of rupees must be paid for the cost of the war. 7. All prisoners on either side must be released. The signature must be annexed under Tipu's seal, and the hostages delivered within twenty-four hours.

Perceiving that the storm was about to break, Tipu endeavoured to anticipate it by a sudden march with 10,000 men into the territory of one of our allies, to attack a column under General Stewart which was advancing from Bombay. It was generally supposed that Tipu had moved against General Harris, and great was the surprise of Stewart's outposts when they became aware of his swift approach. General Stewart at the time was ten miles in the rear, but Colonel Hartley, who led the van, made the best possible disposition of his troops to withstand the enemy's attack, and held his ground so firmly as to give Stewart time to come up. Tipu's troops then broke and fled, leaving 2000 killed and wounded on the lost field. For six days Tipu halted in the neighbourhood of Sidhpaur, hesitating what course to adopt; but on the 11th of March he wheeled about, and struck forward to interrupt Harris's progress. The two armies came into collision on the 27th of March in the neighbourhood of Malvalli,¹ and, after a brief action, Tipu retreated with his dispirited troops, who were wholly unfit to cope with British bayonets in the open field. Imagining that Harris would march on Seringapatam by the route which Cornwallis had adopted, the Sultan devastated a wide tract of country to prevent his army from obtaining supplies. But Harris had turned towards the Kaveri, and, crossing to the opposite bank, placed himself in a region of abundance. When apprised of this skilful tactic, Tipu summoned his lieutenants, and said, "We are now driven to extremities. Advise me; what do you resolve?" Deeply moved, they replied as with one voice, "To die with our sovereign." But as their troops could not be induced to meet the stalwart Britons in open battle, they agreed with the Sultan that their final energies should be concentrated on the defence of the capital.

On the 6th of April Harris's outposts were fixed within a mile of Seringapatam. His army had accomplished a march of 150 miles without serious disaster, though it had lost great numbers of cattle from the delays enforced by the slow pro-

¹ *Malvalli*, lat. 12° 20' 10" N.; 28 miles E. of Mysore city; population, 5078. The battlefield is two miles distant.

gress of the convoy of stores and the long train of provision dealers, suttlers, bearers, and the like, without which impedimenta, in those days, it was thought no Indian army could take the field. Its rate of advance had seldom exceeded five miles a day. On the 17th the fortress was invested. General Stewart, who had brought up his column, crossed one of the arms of the river, and effected a lodgment on the eastern end of the island, while Harris, with the main army, attacked it from the west, and both commanders opened a heavy bombardment against Tipu's bastions and walls of granite. The Sultan, annoyed at the rapid progress of the assailants, proposed a conference of envoys; but Harris replied with the Governor-General's ultimatum. At the recital of its severe conditions, Tipu broke out into a violent rage, exclaiming, "Better to die like a soldier than drag out a wretched life as a dependent upon infidels, and swell the list of pensioned rajas and nawabs!" But the besiegers steadily pursued their pitiless work, and Tipu saw with angry despair his massive masonry smashed and splintered by their ceaseless discharge of shot and shell. Once more he sought to avert his fate. Referring to the British general's letter, he wrote that the stipulations on which it insisted were very onerous, and of a nature to be seriously discussed by ambassadors; and for this purpose he offered to send a couple of vakeels, or confidential messengers. But he could obtain no concession from General Harris. He was informed that absolute submission was indispensable; that no envoys would be received unless they brought the hostages and treasure; and that the last moment for their reception was three o'clock on the following afternoon. At this stern reply Tipu fell into a fit of despondency, alternating with bursts of wild excitement. His whole conduct, it has been said, was that of a man who believed himself pursued by a malignant destiny, against which it was hopeless to attempt resistance.

A failing supply of provisions determined the British general to hasten operations; and ascertaining that a practicable breach had been effected, he fixed the assault for one o'clock on the 3rd of May. The storming columns, 4576 strong, were led by

General Baird, who for five years had lain in one of the dungeons of Seringapatam, until released by Lord Cornwallis. Tipu, whose courtiers had assured him that the attack would not be delivered until the evening, had offered sacrifices and performed various ceremonies under the direction of his astrologers, and was about to partake of his midday meal when news arrived of the British advance. He immediately ordered all his troops to hold the fortifications.

At one o'clock Sir David Baird mounted the parapet of the British entrenchment, where his tall and stately figure was visible to both armies, and ordered the storming columns to move forward. "Come," he cried, "come, my brave fellows; follow me and show yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers!" With a loud cheer the men rushed forward, mounted the breach, overwhelmed its gallant defenders, and in less than seven minutes planted the British colours on the ramparts. When within the precincts of the citadel, one column wheeled to the right, the other to the left, and, indifferent to the crash and clang of big guns and musketry, steadily pressed forward. The right column, supported to some extent by the fire of the British batteries, drove the enemy before them at the bayonet-point until they came in front of the palace. The opposition offered to the left column was more decided, and much damage was done by the muskets of the Mysorean troops from a deep inner ditch. But after some hard fighting the British broke down the defence, and the enemy dispersed in all directions.

General Baird, who led the right column, on arriving before the palace, dispatched Major Allen with a flag of truce to demand the submission of its inmates. The Major found two of Tipu's sons surrounded by officers and attendants, all in the greatest alarm; but they were tranquillised by his assurances that their lives were not in danger, and quietly attended him on his return to the general. They asserted that Tipu was nowhere in the palace. On inquiry being closely pressed, the killidar or commandant acknowledged that he knew the place where his master had been wounded while contending against the British attack, and led the way

to the entrance, where the fight had been hottest, and the dead and dying lay thickly on the blood-soaked soil. There, by the light of torches, were discovered his horse, which had been shot under him, his palanquin, and, lastly, his confidential servant, who pointed out the spot where the Sultan fell. Tipu's body was quickly identified. The story goes that Tipu, who fought with desperate courage, received there seven wounds, and, faint from loss of blood, was placed by his servants in his palanquin, to be carried to a place of safety. But the passage was blocked by a heap of dead bodies; and Tipu crept out in order to make his way on foot. The flash of his jewelled sword-belt attracted the eye of a European soldier, who made a snatch at it; the insulted prince, seizing a sword which lay close at hand, dealt a blow at his assailant, who immediately fired his musket, and shot the Sultan in the temples dead.

General Baird ordered that due respect should be paid to the ill-fated prince. A litter was prepared and the body laid upon it. Then, with a strong escort of British troops, it was carried through the city, the inhabitants weeping bitterly and prostrating themselves to the ground as it passed along. Afterwards, with the usual Muhammadan ceremonies, and with the honours due to his royal rank, it was deposited in the stately mausoleum¹ which Tipu had erected for his father in the Lal Bagh, or "Red Garden."

Thus perished the brief-lived dynasty of Haidar Ali, and the kingdom which his vigorous genius and audacious energy had created. Its territories were partitioned by the Governor-General with politic dexterity. First, he rewarded our allies. To the Nizam was assigned a considerable province adjoining his own dominions, and to the Peshwa a lesser accession, con-

¹ This is a square building, with dome and minarets, surrounded by a corridor which rests upon columns of black hornblende. The double doors, inlaid with ivory, were the gift of the Marquis of Dalhousie during his governor-generalship. The inscription on the tombstone of Tipu represents him as dying a martyr for Islam; the initial letters record the date of his death. Each tomb is covered with a crimson pall, and the place is kept up by the Indian Government.

ditionally upon the ratification of a new treaty of alliance. Next he reserved for the Company the littoral district of Kanara, Coimbatore, Dacaporam, and Wynaad, completing the coast-line of the Company's possessions from the Kistna to Cape Comorin, the passes of the Ghats and the city and fortress of Seringapatam. A large district still remained unappropriated in the interior, and this the Governor-General resolved to constitute into a native kingdom under British protection. But he refused to seat on its throne a son of Tipu, urging that, in such a case, Mysore would continue to be a source of distrust and danger. A descendant of Haidar would always remember and resent the humiliation of his family and the division of his territories. "The hostile power of Mysore would have been weakened, but not destroyed. An enemy would still have remained in the centre of our possessions, watching every occasion to repair the misfortunes of his family at our expense, and forming a point of union for the machinations of every discontented faction in India, and for the intrigues of every emissary in France." He sought out, therefore, the line of the ancient race of rajas, and placed on the throne Krishna Raj, a boy of five years old. It may here be added that when, in the fulness of time, he came to the exercise of sovereign power, he so misused it, and broke out into so shameful a course of debauchery and misgovernment, that in 1831 the British authorities assumed the administration. Half a century later, when the Maharaja Chama Rajindra Woolayar was installed (March 25, 1881), it was re-transferred to native agency.¹

¹ Seringapatam derives its name from Sri Ranga, one of the forms of the god Vishnu, who is worshipped by the same title on two other islands lower down the Kaveri—Sivasamudram and Srirangam. At the present day the ruins of Seringapatam are almost deserted, and the island is so infested by malaria that no European dare sleep upon it. The suburb of Ganam is, however, tolerably prosperous, and crowded fairs are held there thrice in the year.

The place where the English batteries were planted in 1799 is now marked by two cannons stuck upright in the ground. The ruined palace of Tipu is partly occupied as a storehouse for sandalwood. The other things to be examined are the old temple of Ranga-natha-swami; the

The sons of the slain Tipu received many marks of considerate kindness from Lord Mornington, who granted them a splendid income, and lodged them in semi-regal state, first at Vellore, and afterwards in Calcutta. The last of them, Prince Gholam Muhammad, was highly esteemed as a public-spirited citizen of Calcutta, and an active justice of the peace. He died in or about 1877.

We have done justice to the Governor-General's many brilliant qualities, but impartiality compels us to own that they were obscured by some very childish defects. His love of pomp might be excused in a man so highly placed, the representative of a great nation and the ruler of an expanding empire; but his inordinate egotism and thirst of adulation cannot fail to have weakened the fibre of his character. When the news of the fall of Seringapatam reached England, Parliament unanimously voted him its cordial thanks in both houses, and his services were acknowledged in the speech from the throne. The East India Company, by its Court of Directors, also recognised "the wisdom, energy, and decision" he had displayed. On the recommendation of Pitt, the King advanced him to the dignity of Marquis of Wellesley in the Irish peerage; but he had made up his mind that the conquest of Mysore ought to be rewarded with nothing less than a dukedom, and his disappointment was so great that it betrayed him into the use of undignified complaints. He wrote to Mr. Pitt that he could not describe his anguish of mind in feeling himself bound by every sense of duty and honour to declare his bitter disappointment at the reception which the King had given to his services, and at the ostensible mark of favour which he had conferred upon him. In England, as in India, the disproportion between the service and the reward would be imputed to some opinion

famed Musjid, a tall mosque with two minarets, erected by Tipu; and, outside the walls, the Dariya Daulat Bagh, or "Garden of the Wealth of the Sea," a decayed building of graceful proportions, richly decorated with arabesque work in glowing colours. It was built by Tipu for a summer pavilion, and contains the celebrated pictures of the defeat of Baillie at Conjevaram in 1780, which, after being twice defaced, were finally restored by the express command of Lord Dalhousie.

existing in the King's mind of his being disqualified by some personal incapacity to receive the reward of his conduct. He would confess openly that as he was confident there had been nothing Irish or pinchbeck in his conduct or in its results, he felt an equal confidence that he should have nothing Irish or pinchbeck in his reward. [A sentence which, as an Irishman, he ought never to have written.] His health must necessarily suffer with his spirits, and the mortifying situation in which he was placed would soon become intolerable to him. Mr. Pitt, however, took no notice of his friend's excited remonstrances, and the Governor-General had to be content with his Irish marquise.

Meanwhile his unbounded activity missed no opportunity of developing his imperial policy. Great Britain was not yet the paramount power in Southern India, but he was determined that it should be. Dissatisfied with the dual government existing in Tanjore, he brought his diplomacy to bear upon the Raja Sharabhoye with such effect, that he ceded his territory in sovereignty to the Company, under treaty dated October 29, 1799. The area thus acquired amounted to about 3600 acres, and, from its fertility and high cultivation, has a just claim to be considered the garden of Southern India. The Company, in return, engaged to pay the Raja¹ one-fifth of the net revenue, with a further sum of £35,000, and permitted him to retain, besides some scattered villages and lands, the fort of Tanjore and a belt of land around it half a mile in width. But on the death of his son Sivaji in 1855 without legitimate male issue, the raj was declared extinct, and the rights and privileges appertaining to it ceased.

A still more important acquisition was that of the Karnatic, or the part of South-Eastern India under the rule of the Nawab of Arcot. The reigning prince was a self-indulgent voluptuary, who wasted a declining revenue upon sensual pleasures,

¹ This Raja was a prince of admirable character and many accomplishments, whom Bishop Heber describes as one of the most singularly gifted persons he ever knew. He could read and criticise Shakespeare, wrote English verse with fluency, quoted Lavoisier and Linné, and was a fine shot and bold rider.

and neglected every duty of his position, which, however, was a strange and dubious one. "To no prince," says Major Evans Bell, "had such deference been paid; yet no prince was kept under such strict surveillance. He resided in Madras, beyond the limits of his own government, within British jurisdiction, though exempt from it, surrounded by British troops, unable to stir hand or foot without permission, and yet exercising despotic power over millions of subjects who had learned to look to us for protection. We were dependent on the revenue of the Karnatic for the support of all our establishments in the south of India, yet we were compelled to see the Nawab destroying the revenue of the country for the benefit of the birds of prey of all nations who flattered and fleeced him." The situation was intolerable in its contradictions, and Wellesley determined it should come to an end. It was not easy, however, to persuade him to abdicate, or to agree to any treaty of union; and after a delay of two years, the Marquis set him aside, raised his cousin to the *musnad*, securing him an ample income with the show and glitter of a court, and vested the military and financial control of the state in the Presidency of Madras. By these two annexations, Tanjore and the Karnatic, the Madras Presidency was constituted on the lines which, with little alteration, it has retained to the present day. The whole of the southern peninsula was consolidated under the supremacy of the Company, and where the local government was still held by native hands, our resident envoys virtually directed and controlled their actions. Thus in less than half a century had the makers of British India raised their broad and stately fabric on the ruins of the Mughal empire, advancing "from factories to forts, from forts to fortifications, from fortifications to garrisons, from garrisons to armies, and from armies to conquests," until a company of traders had become the paramount power in the peninsula, making and unmaking princes, overthrowing old and creating new dynasties, and disposing of the lives and fortunes of millions of Muhammaçians and Hindus, Parsees, Persians, and Malays—races differing from each other in language, religion, and manners and customs, but held together in peace and

order by the terror of the arms of England and the wisdom of her laws.

In February 1801 a new dignity was added to the office of the Governor-General, and the Marquis Wellesley became the first Captain-General, and as such in supreme command of all the forces of the crown serving in the East. It was then that he removed the residence of the Governor-General from Fort William to Barrackpur,¹ where he erected a Government House not unworthy of his quasi-regal position. Delighting in the pomp and circumstance of state ceremonial, he surrounded himself with functionaries and servitors, and created a special bodyguard to attend upon his person, whom he dressed in the most gorgeous of uniforms. He had also his state-barge for use when he desired to take an airing on the waters of the Hugli. "It reminded me," says Lord Valentia, who visited India at this time, "of a fairy tale. It was very long in proportion to its width, richly ornamented with gems and gold; its head a spread-eagle gilt, its stern a tiger's head and body; the centre would contain twenty people, and was covered with an awning and side-curtains; forward were seated twenty natives dressed in scarlet habits, with rose-coloured turbans, who pulled away most energetically, and speedily gained the landing-place. His Excellency much amused me by the account he gave of the manner in which my arrival was announced to him by the messenger whom he placed purposely on the road. 'Lord Sahib ka bhánja, Company ka nawasa teshief Caia,' literally translated, 'The Lord's sister's son and grandson of Mrs. Company is arrived.' These titles originated from a belief of the natives that the India Company was an old woman, and that the Governors-General were her children."

It was about this time that Lord Wellesley (as I shall henceforth call him) conceived the idea of an Indian university, in which the cadets sent out from England might study the literature and science of the East, and gain some knowledge of the laws and institutions of the peoples whom they were to govern. Writing to the Court of Directors on July 9, 1802, he explained

¹ *Barrackpur*, lat. 22° 45' 40" N.; on the Hugli river; 15 miles above Calcutta.

his purpose thus :—“ It is obvious that an education exclusively European or Indian would not qualify your servants for the situation which they are destined to fill ; the foundation of their education must be laid in England and completed systematically after their arrival in India by two or three years’ instruction, under the discipline of some collegiate institution, in branches of knowledge suitable to their intended duties. The Governor-General in Council has therefore determined to found an establishment in this Presidency of the nature of a collegiate institution ; the expenses of the institution to be defrayed by a small contribution from all the civil servants in India, to be deducted from salaries. It is my intention to open it in November ; lectures on languages the following winter :—Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Bengali, Telingu, Maratha, Tamuli, Canara ; Muhammadan and Hindu law, ethics, civil jurisprudence, and the law of nations ; English law, regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council or by the Governors-General at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively for the civil government of the British territories in India ; political economy, and particularly the commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company ; geography, mathematics, modern languages of Europe, Greek, Latin, and English classics, general history, ancient and modern ; the history and antiquities of Hindustan and the Deccan, natural history, botany, chemistry, and astronomy.”

The college was opened in 1802, but without the sanction of the home authorities, who by no means sympathised with the enlightened views of their Governor-General, but complained dolorously of this new source of expenditure, and finally insisted that the new college should be remodelled on a reduced scale. Lord Wellesley protested, and when his protestation was unheeded, resigned office, intimating his wish to be relieved from its responsibilities as soon as possible. This decisive step led to a reconsideration of the position, and the new college was temporarily reprieved.¹

¹ Lord Wellesley’s comprehensive and far-seeing scheme was afterwards carried out at Haileybury.

The Second Maratha War, 1802.

We have seen that in both our wars with Tipu we had had as allies the Maratha princes, but we have also seen that they gave us very little active help, and were never very sincere or cordial in their alliance. These princes, at the beginning of the present century, were five in number. Their nominal head was the Peshwa of Poona, whose rule extended over the hill country of the Western Ghats, the cradle of the Maratha race. The Gaekwar of Baroda annually sent his horsemen to burn, pillage, and kill in the rich province of Gujarat. The two great military chiefs of Southern India were Sindhia of Gwalior and Holkar of Indore, who disputed with each other the pre-eminency; and, finally, towards the east the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur was supreme from Berar to the coast of Orissa.

Lord Wellesley felt that his great imperial scheme was incomplete so long as these turbulent chiefs maintained their independence, and stood outside the circle of subsidiary states which acknowledged England as the paramount power. He was determined that they should be brought within it, and circumstances afforded him an early opportunity of carrying out his resolution.

The throne of Poona was ascended in 1795 by Baji Rao II., but the actual government remained for the next five years in the firm and able hands of his minister, Nana Farnavis. On his death in 1800 the reins of power were assumed by the young Peshwa, who immediately developed a disposition of the most vicious nature, so that the worst passions of humanity seemed to reach in him their climax. He took into his council the vilest of men, if it were possible for any to be viler than himself. "Under a handsome aspect and a polished manner," says Sir Richard Temple, "he concealed a cruel and revengeful temper. He would sit in the balcony of his palace and watch barbarous sentences executed. It need hardly be added that he was a master-hand in deceit, and betrayed his supporters all round. He was innately skilful in ingratiating himself with others before they discovered his real disposition.

Manliness had generally been possessed by his race, but he was at heart a coward. He was miserably superstitious, and the neighbourhood of Poona is still shaded by groves which he planted in expiation of his crimes. He was tormented by the ghost of the murdered Peshwa, whose murder he ascribed to his father and mother, the uncle and aunt of the victim [Narayan Rao, see p. 110]. He possessed only one of the attributes of his ancestors, eloquent persuasiveness." Of this Peshwa we shall have a good deal to say by-and-by. In 1802, his capital of Poona having been taken and plundered by Seswant Rao Holkar, he took refuge in British territory, and supplicated the assistance of the Governor-General.

Wellesley saw at once that the opportunity had arrived for including the Maratha states in the subsidiary system he was building up with so much forethought and decision, and proceeded to lay down a plan of military operations remarkable for perspicacity and comprehensiveness. Indeed, whatever may have been his faults of character and temper, his vain-gloriousness, his love of pomp and parade, and his general extravagance, there can be no doubt that he was the greatest War Minister that England ever sent to India; and perhaps the greatest War Minister, if we except the elder Pitt, which England ever produced. He had a natural genius for military combinations, and the scheme of action which he laid down for his lieutenants in the Maratha war was conceived and matured with the skill of a consummate tactician, while in providing the necessary resources he exhibited the tact and energy of a great administrator.

On the last day of the year he concluded the treaty of Bassein, as it is called—a treaty offensive and defensive between Raja Rao and the Company, by which the former ceded to the latter certain districts yielding an annual income of twenty-six lakhs of rupees, and the latter undertook to furnish a subsidiary force of 6000 troops under English officers, with a suitable complement of artillery and engineers, who were to be stationed permanently in the neighbourhood of Poona, or wherever else his Highness might require their presence for the maintenance of his government. In transmitting this treaty to the

home authorities, Lord Wellesley expressed his conviction that it would prove the basis of mutual tranquillity, greater and more durable than had previously been within the range of calculation. At first it was indeed possible that Holkar and Sindhia might lay aside their mutual animosities rather than allow the suzerain of their confederacy to be indebted for his independence of their loyalty to an alien power; but no threat of their junction ought to be allowed to baffle a policy so manifest as that embodied in the treaty of Bassein. The Governor-General's forecast was correct. The Maratha chiefs viewed with alarm and disgust the permanent establishment of British influence at the court of Poona, and entered into a league to assert and defend the independence of the Marathas. Meanwhile, Wellesley let loose "the dogs of war." An army, under his brother, General Arthur Wellesley, numbering 8000 bayonets and 3700 sabres, was ordered to march upon Poona and re-establish the Peshwa, while Colonel Stevenson, with the Nizam's contingent of 6000 bayonets and 9000 sabres, advanced from Haidarabad to co-operate with him. At the same time Lake, the commander-in-chief, who had assembled a considerable force at Cawnpur, was instructed to subdue Sindhia's territories in Hindustan proper, capture Delhi and Agra, and establish a chain of forts on the right bank of the Jumna, with a view to the occupation of the Doab, a country lying between that river and the Ganges. The progress of these two expeditions we proceed to trace.¶

General Wellesley's Campaign, 1803.

General Wellesley began his march on the 6th of August, having forwarded to Sindhia a formal declaration of war. His first success was won against Ahmadnagar,¹ Sindhia's strong fort and arsenal, at the mouth of the Ajanta Pass. The town was carried by assault on the 9th. Next day the heavy guns opened against the fortress, and a breach being effected in two

¹ *Ahmadnagar*, lat. 19° 5' N., on the left bank of the Sina; population, 37,492.

days, the garrison surrendered. Wellesley then proceeded to occupy all Sindhia's fortified positions south of the Godaverī, which river he crossed on the 29th, hoping to meet the enemy in the open field. The country had been desolated by internal conflicts, and but for the liberality and forethought with which the commissariat had been supplied, the invaders must have suffered extreme privations. Sindhia fell back as the British advanced, trusting by the rapidity of his movements to weary out his antagonist; but Wellesley, by a series of skilful manœuvres, compelled him to return northwards, and on the 21st of September held a conference with Colonel Stevenson to arrange a combined attack. The two divisions were to advance by different roads, partly because the defiles which intervened between the British and the Maratha camp presented formidable difficulties to the movements of a large force, and partly that no opening of escape might be left to their nimble enemies. Stevenson, therefore, struck to the west, and Wellesley to the east, skirting the range of hills between Bidnapur and Jaora, the two divisions marching in parallel lines at a distance of about twelve miles, with the view of uniting to deliver their attack on the 24th.

But on the 23rd Wellesley received information that Sindhia and the Bhonsla Raja of Berar were swiftly falling back with their cavalry, and that their infantry were about to follow. He immediately resolved to engage the latter, and sent orders to Colonel Stevenson to bring up his column without delay. On arriving in sight of the enemy's position, he discovered that he had been misled, and that the entire Maratha force was before him. Strongly posted on a narrow tongue of land formed by the junction of the Juah and Kailna rivers, with their left resting on the village of Assaye,¹ their numerical strength and military qualities were not less formidable than their position. There were 16,000 disciplined infantry, of whom 10,500 had been drilled and were led by European officers, chiefly French; 20,000 of the splendid Maratha horsemen, and a fine park of artillery, 100 of the guns being served chiefly by French artillerists, making, with some battalions of regular troops, a

¹ *Assaye* or *Asai*, lat. 20° 15' 15" N.; 43 miles N.E. of Aurangabad.

total of 50,000 men. Wellesley's whole force at this time did not exceed 4500 of all arms, as Stevenson's column was still at a distance ; but he felt compelled to risk an engagement. To have retreated in the face of so formidable a host would have been to court destruction.

After a careful survey of the country, he discovered a ford over the Kailna on the enemy's left, which they had neglected to guard, and was thus enabled to carry his army across unopposed. He then began the attack, designing to coop up the masses of the enemy in the narrow tongue of land already spoken of, and drive them back into the Juah. The Maratha guns were well directed by the French artillerists, and so fierce was their fire that Wellesley was compelled to leave his own guns behind, their gunners and oxen being swept down in the first few minutes of the advance. To the officer leading he had given strict orders to avoid the cannon planted in Assaye village, but unfortunately they were misunderstood or disregarded, and much unnecessary slaughter was the result. With splendid resolution, however, the men stepped forward, though with thinned and thinning ranks ; and even a sudden storm of Maratha sabres checked them but for a moment. With grim brows and close-set teeth, they charged their dusky foes, who, after a moment's indecision, broke and fled, when the British cavalry rode in among them, doing terrible execution. The Marathas, thrown into confusion, fell back upon the river, and Wellesley led his troops across in hot pursuit. Numbers of the enemy, who had thrown themselves on the ground under or around their guns, and were passed by as dead or dying, suddenly sprang to their feet and turned their guns upon our pursuing troops, while large bodies of their cavalry showed a disposition to close in upon our scattered regiments. Wellesley led a swift cavalry back across the river in time to save the battle. One more charge, and the enemy dispersed in great disorder, after a three hours' action desperately fought on both sides.

Sindhia and the Bhonsla Raja had taken to flight when first the day seemed to incline against them, but the artillery, trained by De Boigne, stood manfully to their guns to the

last. The carnage was terrible. On the Maratha side more than 12,000 were killed and wounded, while the British lost one-third of their little force, 400 killed and 1622 wounded. The enemy left all their guns, ammunition, and camp-equipage on the field.¹

The battle of Assaye was well fought, and the victor deserved all the praise he received, not alone for the skill and coolness with which he handled his little army, but for the military sagacity which rendered the engagement possible. His native guides had declared the river Kailna was impracticable; but observing that villages were situated on both banks, Wellesley immediately concluded that there must exist some means of intercommunication. "My guides still persisted," he afterwards wrote, "that there were neither boats nor a ford; but on my own conjecture, or rather reasoning, I took the desperate (as it seemed) resolution of marching for the river; and I was right. I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry; and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it thereabouts, and on which Assaye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And then I fought and won the battle, the bloodiest for the number [engaged] that ever I saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."

The victory of Assaye was followed by the surrender of the city of Burhanpur² and the adjoining fortress of Assurgurh to Colonel Stevenson; and Sindhia, finding himself vigorously pursued, opened up negotiations, chiefly with a view of gaining time. An armistice was concluded, and Wellesley then

¹ A medal was struck in 1851 in commemoration of this brilliant victory, and presented to the few officers and men then surviving. The people of Assaye possess numbers of muskets, jingals, and small cannon-balls, which have been picked up at intervals on the field. Human remains are not unfrequently found on the banks of the Juah, especially after freshets caused by the rains. There is now a railway station at Sillod, 11 miles.

² *Burhanpur*, lat. 21° 18' 33" N.; on the N. bank of the Tapti, formerly capital of the Deccan; population, 30,017.

turned upon the Raja Bhonsla of Berar. Advancing to support Stevenson, who had laid siege to the great fortress of Gawilgarh, he found himself in the immediate neighbourhood of the Raja's army, under the command of his brother, Venkaji. In violation of the conditions of the armistice, Venkaji had been joined by a large body of Sindhia's horse, and he had drawn up his forces on the broad plain, broken up by watercourses, in front of the town of Argaum.¹ Wellesley resolved on an immediate attack, though that very day, November 28, his soldiers had marched six-and-twenty miles, over a burning soil and under a blazing sun. He advanced in two lines, the infantry in the first, and the British cavalry in the second, supporting the right, and the Haidarabad cavalry on the left, nearly parallel to that of the enemy, the right being thrown somewhat forward, so as to press upon the enemy's left. The Raja's army was drawn up with its infantry and guns on the left and centre, and Sindhia's cavalry on the right, with their flank covered by a swarm of Pindaris and other light troops. Their front extended over a line five miles long, and in their rear lay the houses, gardens, and enclosures of Argaum. At the outset the battle went against the British, some of the native regiments yielding to a sudden panic and retreating in confusion. But Wellesley rode to the spot, rallied, re-formed them, and led them forward in good order. The enemy did not fight with the courage he had shown at Assaye, and the victory was soon won. "The 74th and 78th regiments," wrote the commander, "were attacked by a large body, supposed to be Persians, and all these were destroyed. Sindhia's cavalry charged the first battalion of the 6th, which was on the left of our line, and were repulsed, and their whole line retired in disorder before our troops, leaving in our hands thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition. The British cavalry pursued them for several miles, destroyed great numbers, and took many elephants and camels and much baggage. The Mogul of Mysore's cavalry also pursued the fugitives, and did them great mischief. The action did not commence till late

¹ *Argaum* or *Argaon*, "city of wells," lat. 21° 7' 30" N.; population, 4625.

in the day (the men being fatigued with their long march), and unfortunately sufficient daylight did not remain to do all that I could have wished ; but the cavalry continued their pursuit by moonlight, and all the troops were under arms till a late hour in the night." The British loss in this action did not exceed 46 killed and 294 wounded ; that of the enemy has never been recorded.

The hill-fortress of Gawilgarh was next reduced. It occupied a summit of the Gawilgarh range, at an elevation of 3595 feet above the sea-level, and consisted of one complete inner fort facing the steepest part of the mountain, covered by an outer fort, which defended its approaches to the north and north-west. It had three gates, but of the roads which led to two of them, one was so steep as to be impracticable for artillery, while the other wound for some distance under the yawning mouths of heavy guns. The third was on the north side ; that is, on the side opposite to Argaum. To this gate the route for the last two miles was sufficiently favourable ; but it could be approached only by threading the defile of the Malhara Pass eastwards, and then turning round upon Labada to the north—a work of immense difficulty for a column encumbered with artillery and large supplies of ammunition, but accomplished in a most successful manner by Colonel Stevenson.¹ Batteries were then raised upon Labada, a breach was soon effected, and the fort carried by storm on the 15th of December.

The Raja made no further resistance ; but two days later signed a treaty by which he ceded Cuttack and Bundelkhand to the Company, and several districts west of the Warda river to the Nizam. He recognised the Calcutta Government as the future arbiter in all differences with the Peshwa or the Nizam, and undertook that no European or American troops should be admitted into his service.

¹ So difficult the route, that, though only thirty miles in length, the army was six days in traversing it.

Campaign of General Lake, 1803.

Our attention must now be directed to General Lake's operations. The after-fame of Wellington—the glory he acquired on the battlefields of the Peninsula and the plain of Waterloo—has cast on the Assaye campaign a kind of reflected lustre, obscuring the not less brilliant campaign conducted by General Lake, in which the victories of Aligarh and Laswari were not inferior to those of Assaye and Argaum.

The Maratha force with which Lake was called upon to contend was, in a military sense, more formidable even than the armies which encountered Wellesley and Stevenson, since they were mainly composed of the battalions organised and disciplined by De Boigne, and commanded by General Perron. Its strength was estimated at 36,000, about equally divided between infantry and cavalry, besides a large body of irregulars and a splendid train of artillery.

Gerard Lake, the British commander, was a dashing and energetic soldier. Born in July 1744, he entered the army when a boy of fourteen, and carried a pair of colours in the Seven Years' War; afterwards served in America under Lord Cornwallis, and gained much distinction at the siege of New York. In the Duke of York's inglorious campaigns in Holland he commanded the first brigade of Guards, and in several actions illustrated both his capacity and his courage. Raised to the rank of general, he commanded the forces in Ireland during the rebellion of 1797-1798, and added to his reputation by the cool and ready skill with which he directed the necessary military operations. In 1800 he was appointed to the command-in-chief of the army in India, a position which he filled with honour to himself and great advantage to his country.

While Wellesley operated against the Marathas in the south, Lake moved against them in the north; and marching out of Cawnpur on August 7th, he crossed the frontier on the 20th with about 10,000 men of all arms, and next day came in sight of General Perron's famous cavalry, encamped near

Koil.¹ He advanced at once to the attack ; but Perron, instead of encountering him, as might have been expected of that brilliant partisan leader, rode away full speed to Hathras, and thence fled to Muttra.² Lake then turned his guns against Aligarh, a fortified position of great strength, the defences having been designed by French engineers, and the belt of country round about it being covered with large swamps and deep morasses. The ditch that encircled it was 100 feet wide, and seemed to offer an insuperable obstacle ; but Lake having ascertained that at one point a terrace had been thrown across it instead of a drawbridge, concluded that it would afford secure transit for his troops, and determined on an assault (September 4th). The storming column, gallantly led by Colonel Monson, successfully fought their way over ditch and mound and breastwork, but were baffled in an attempt to escalate the ramparts, which were lined by a hedge of spear-men. A twelve-pounder was then brought up to burst open the gate, while the enemy kept up with great resolution a withering fire, disabling many and wounding Colonel Monson severely. Major Macleod succeeded to the command ; and the gate being blown away, led his Highlanders through a long winding passage in the teeth of a storm of shot. The enemy made a resistance worthy of the ancient fame of the Maratha warriors. Harder fighting, perhaps, had never been seen in India. But British tenacity prevailed, and the fortress, which the natives had always looked upon as impregnable, fell to their bold assault, and with it fell the whole of the Upper Doab to the very foot of the Siwaliks ; such was the effect of the capture of Aligarh upon the native mind.

With his soldiery elated by their brilliant deed of arms, Lake next marched upon the imperial city of Delhi, where the descendant and representative of the great Muhammadan emperors still held his phantom court. On arriving within view of its walls, he found the Marathas and their French

¹ Koil is the native town adjoining the fort and town of Aligarh, lat. 27° 55' N. ; 84 miles S.E. of Delhi.

² It would seem that Perron had good cause to distrust many of his native officers, and was the object of a good deal of jealousy.

auxiliaries strongly posted under General Bourgain, and prepared to dispute his progress. Though his force was reduced to 4500 men and the enemy numbered 19,000, he resolved to bring on an engagement. To attack the enemy in their well-chosen position was, however, too hazardous; but he drew them from their lines by a well-executed feint of retreat. As soon as they were well down into the plain, he wheeled about and charged with levelled bayonets. The enemy turned and fled in the wildest disorder, with a loss of 3000 killed and wounded. Bourgain surrendered (September 15th), and on the following day Lake triumphantly entered the city of the Mughals. He immediately proceeded to deliver from the harsh captivity in which he had been held by the Marathas the Emperor Shah Alum, whom he found in the splendid palace built by his great ancestor, Shah Jehan. He was seated "under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his former state, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmities, his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and marked with extreme old age and a settled melancholy." Compliments and congratulations in the florid Oriental style were duly interchanged, and the Emperor bestowed on Lake some sonorous titles, such as "the sword of the state, the hero of the land, and the victorious in war." In return Lake assured him of something more substantial—British protection. "It is impossible," wrote Lord Wellesley, "to describe the impression which the general's conduct on this interesting occasion has made on the minds of the inhabitants of Delhi, and of all the Mussulmans who have had an opportunity of being made acquainted with the occurrences of September the 16th. In the metaphorical language of Asia, the native news-writers who describe this extraordinary scene have declared that his Majesty Shah Alum recovered his sight from excess of joy. In addition to many other marks of royal favour and condescension, the Emperor was graciously pleased to confer on the general the second title in the empire." The Company eventually settled on the old man and his heirs a comfortable pension, leaving him to enjoy a certain amount of imperial pomp, with his palaces, elephants, harem, and body-guard, while they annexed his possessions, assumed the con-

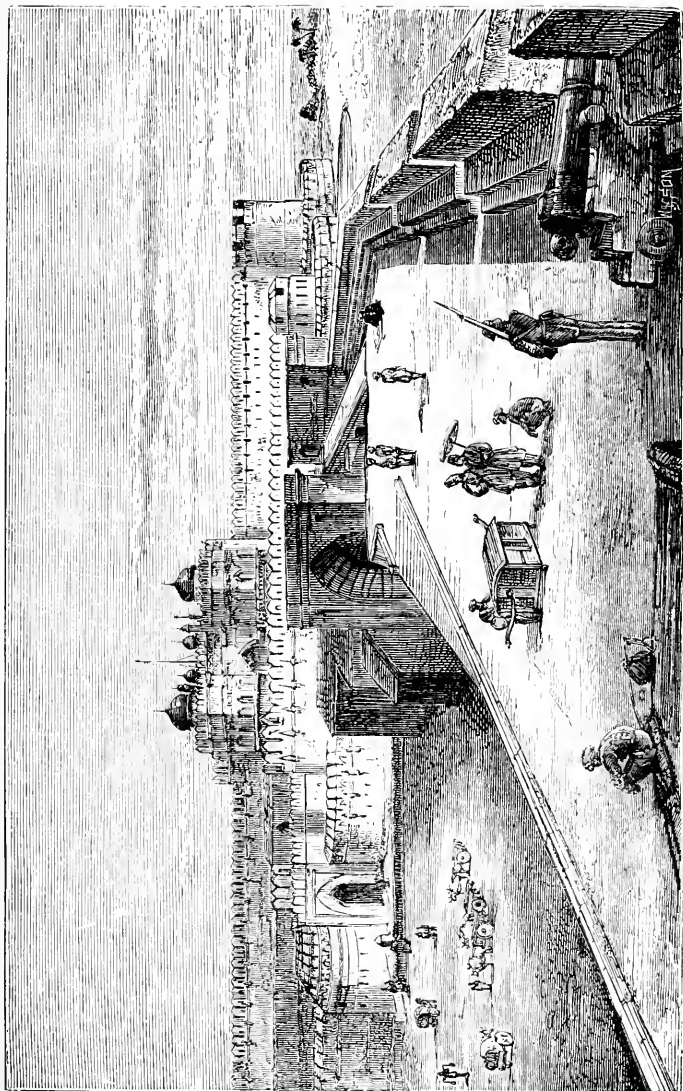
trol of the police, and placed British officers in command of the garrison. The North-Western Provinces—the ancient Madhya-deshā—passed under British rule, and, together with the districts previously acquired from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, were amalgamated into the “Ceded and Conquered Provinces.” A resident and chief commissioner undertook the entire direction of the fiscal arrangements, and exercised a general supervision over the criminal jurisdiction; and while the king enjoyed exclusive power within the palace walls, British officials administered Muhammadan law in his name even in his private domain. This anomalous mode of government subsisted until 1832, when the office of resident and chief commissioner was abolished, the executive power transferred to a commissioner in connection with the government of the North-Western Provinces, and the judicial functions to the High Court of Agra.¹

From Delhi General Lake advanced upon Agra,² the city of the Taj Mahal, founded by the famous Akbar in 1566, and beautified by the magnificent Shah Jehan in 1632–1637. It surrendered on the 17th of October, and the booty which it yielded, valued at £280,000, was given up to the troops as prize-money. Lake then marched in pursuit of the fragments of Sindhia's force which still kept the field, and, though deserted by their French officers, maintained a courageous attitude. Misinformed as to their numbers, and led to believe that they were seeking to escape him, he rode in swift pursuit of them with his cavalry alone, leaving orders for his infantry to follow. He started at midnight, and as day dawned on the 1st of November came up with them at the village of Laswari,³ where they had entrenched themselves strongly, covering their front with an embankment and their artillery, and flooding the plain from a

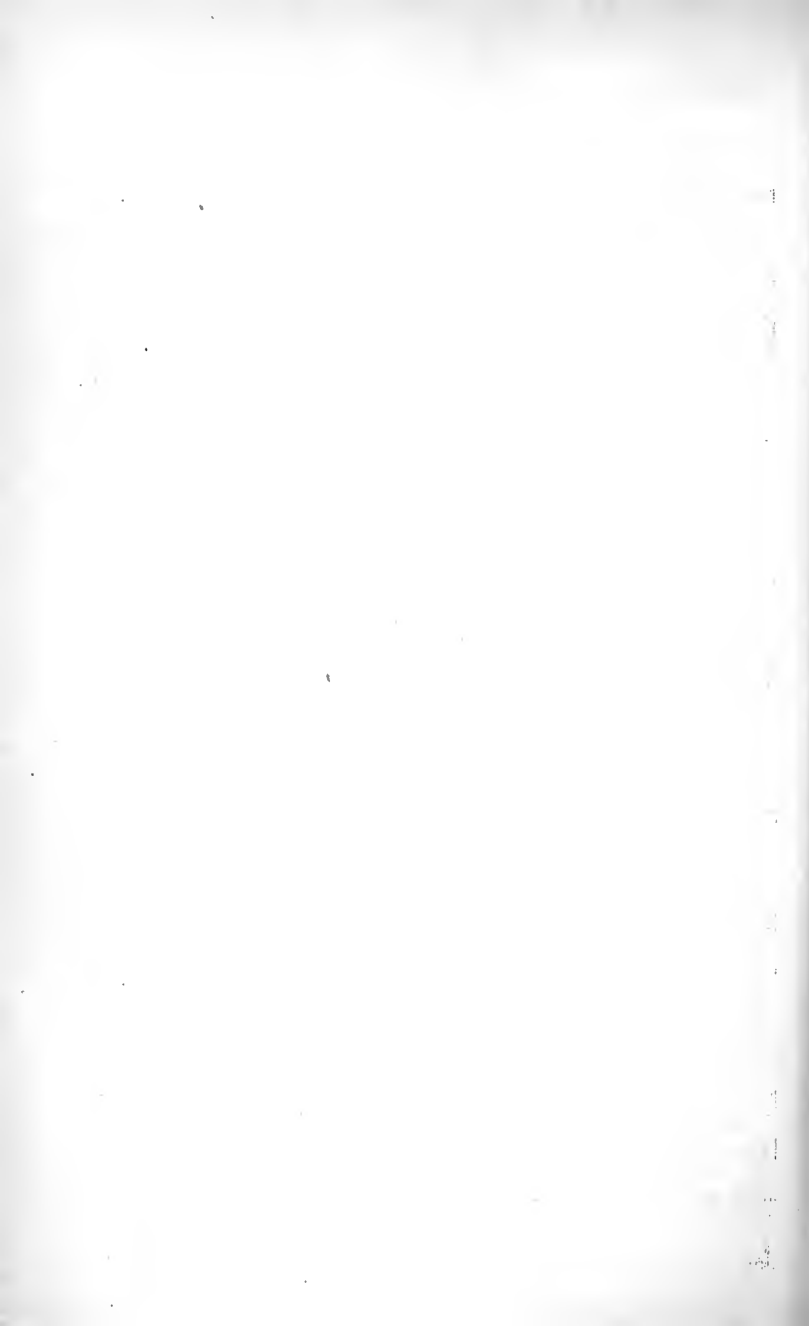
¹ After the Sepoy Mutiny the Delhi district was transferred to the new Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, with the exception of some Doab villages known as the Eastern Pargana, which were annexed to the North-Western Provinces.

² *Agra*, lat. 27° 10' 6" N. on the north bank of the Jumna; 139 miles from Delhi; 841 miles from Calcutta; population, 160,203.

³ *Laswari*, a village in Rajputana, 20 miles S.E. of Alwar, in lat. 27° 33' 30" N., and long. 76° 54' 45" E.



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neighbouring reservoir. Lake in person led his cavalry to the attack, but a tremendous discharge of grape and double-headed shot swept away whole squadrons, so that the most brilliant courage was put to nought. Reluctantly the impetuous veteran withdrew them from the fiery storm to await the arrival of the infantry, who had marched sixty-five miles in the preceding forty-eight hours, and twenty-five miles since midnight. A brief rest, a hasty meal, and they grappled with their foes. The contest proved to be the most desperate in which our troops had been engaged, for the Marathas fought with an obstinacy which no native soldiers had ever before displayed. They defended their lines to the last extremity, and were cut down or bayoneted at their guns. When at length they were broken and gave way, the victory was one of which any army might well have been proud. It was gained hardly, for the casualties on the British side amounted to 824, one-fourth of which were sustained by the gallant 76th regiment; but the enemy left half their number on the bloody field, besides losing all their guns, ammunition, and camp-equipage. "I never was in so severe a business in my life," wrote Lake next day, "or anything like it, and I pray to God I may never be in such a situation again. Their army was better appointed than ours; no expense was spared whatever. Had we been defeated, the consequences must have been most fatal. Those fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes; and had they been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. They had a numerous artillery, as well armed as they could possibly be, their gunners standing to their guns until killed by the bayonet."

Laswari crushed the Maratha power. Sindhia¹ sued for peace, and on the 30th of December signed the treaty of Surji Anjangaon,² by which he ceded to the Company all his territories between the Ganges and the Jumna, with considerable

¹ Sindhia is the family or dynastic name. Daulat Rao Sindhia was the full name of the prince referred to in the text.

² *Anjangaon* is situated in the Ellichpur District, Berar, on the river Shanur. The treaty was negotiated by Sir Arthur Wellesley, on behalf of the Governor-General, and Wittal Panth, Sindhia's Prime Minister.

districts lying to the north of the latter river, as well as Broach and his other maritime possessions in Gujarat. To the Peshwa he ceded Ahmadnagar, and some extensive districts to the Nizam. A few weeks later a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded, by which he secured the services of six battalions of sepoy, to be stationed within or without his dominions as he chose.¹

Campaign of 1802–1805.

Of the fivefold Maratha confederacy one powerful member still remained in the enjoyment of uncurtailed power and unexhausted resources. This was Jaswant Rao Holkar,² the rival of Sindhia, who had held aloof while his fellow-princes were being crushed, and broke out into hostilities when he had no prospect of obtaining an ally. His army, which had been disciplined and trained by French officers, was formidable from its numerical strength and splendid equipment; it numbered 15,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry, and was provided with 192 pieces of artillery. Confident in his military resources, he wrote to Sir Arthur Wellesley in March 1804, arrogantly demanding the restoration of certain lands which, he asserted, had once belonged to his family, and threatening that, if his request was neglected, "countries of many hundred miles in extent should be pillaged and burnt. Lord Lake should have no leisure to breathe, and calamities should fall on thousands of human beings by a protracted war, in which his armies would overwhelm them like waves of the sea." Soon after-

¹ For their brilliant services in the Maratha war Wellesley was made a K.C.B., and Lake (in September 1804) raised to the peerage as Baron Lake. In 1807 he was elevated to a viscountcy, and he died on February 20, 1808.

² The Holkar family are Marathas of the Dhargar or goatherd tribe, and their founder was Malhar Rao, the son of a shepherd, born about 1693 in the village of Hol (whence Hol-kar, inhabitant of Hol), who in 1724 entered the service of the Peshwa as commander of 500 horse, prospered greatly, and died in 1765, leaving estates worth £700,000 a year. Then came his son's widow, the famous Ahalya Bai, died 1795, and Jaswant Rao, her illegitimate son by Tukaji Rao, her commander-in-chief.

wards he let loose his cavalry on the territories of the Raja of Jaipur, one of the minor potentates who had earned our protection by their fidelity, and the Raja applied to the Calcutta Government for assistance. Lord Wellesley immediately ordered Lake to expel the marauders; but on his approach Holkar hastily retreated across the river Chambal, one of the principal tributaries of the Jumna. As the hot weather was approaching, and Holkar did not seem to mean hostilities seriously, Lake withdrew his army into cantonments, leaving Colonel Monson with a single brigade (chiefly sepoys), to watch his movements. But Monson, pushing his pursuit too far without maintaining his communications or keeping himself well supplied with intelligence, suddenly found himself confronted on the 7th of July by Holkar with his legions. In Eastern warfare, audacity, as a rule, means safety; and had Monson led his men to the charge, he might have been as successful as his commander-in-chief had been at Laswari. But he lost his head, and ordered an immediate retreat, swiftly pursued by clouds of the Maratha cavalry. On reaching the Mukandwara Pass—a long and narrow valley formed by two ridges of hills running north-west and south-west between the rivers Chambal and Kali Sind—Monson turned at bay, and inflicted a severe check on his pursuers (July 20). But as he continued to retreat, his difficulties daily increased. The rivers, which on his advance he had found easily fordable, the heavy rains had swollen into dangerous floods; his guns sank in the mud, and had to be spiked and abandoned; his sepoys deserted freely; the supply of provisions proved painfully inadequate; the bonds of discipline were relaxed; and it was a weary, dispirited, and disorderly rabble whom, after a retreat of fifty days, he led into Agra on the 31st of August.

Sad was the mortifying record which Lake was compelled to transmit to the Governor-General. It was bitter reading to Lord Wellesley, but he replied in a manly and generous spirit. "Grievous and disastrous as the events are," he wrote, "the extent of the calamity does not exceed my expectation; from the first hour of Colonel Monson's retreat I have always augured the ruin of that detachment, and if any part of it be

saved, I deem it so much gain. I trust that the greater part of it has arrived at Agra, but I fear that my poor friend Monson is gone. Whatever may have been his fate, or whatever the result of his misfortunes to my own fame, I will endeavour to shield his character from obloquy, nor will I attempt the mean purpose of sacrificing his reputation to save mine. His former services and his zeal entitle him to indulgence; and however I may lament and suffer for his errors, I will not reproach his memory if he be lost, or his character if he survive. Your letter manifests your usual judgment and spirit. We must endeavour rather to retrieve than to blame what is past, and under your auspices I entertain no doubt of success. Time, however, is the main consideration. Every hour that shall be left to this plunderer will be marked with some calamity. We must expect a general defection of the allies, and some confusion in our own territories unless we can attack Holkar's main force immediately with decisive success. I trust that you will be enabled to assemble your army in sufficient time to prevent further mischief. I highly applaud your determination to leave nothing to fortune, and rather to risk the internal tranquillity of the provinces for a season than to hazard any contest on unequal grounds with the enemy. Holkar defeated, all alarm and danger will instantly vanish. When I look at the date of this letter, I cannot entertain a shadow of apprehension for the result of this war. This (September 12) is the anniversary of the battle of Delhi—a victory gained under circumstances infinitely more unfavourable than the present. Your triumphs of last year proceeded chiefly from your vigorous system of attack. In every war the native states will always gain courage in proportion as we shall allow them to attack us; and I know that you will always bear this in mind, especially against such a power as Holkar. If we cannot reduce him, we have lost our ascendancy in India. You will perceive that the only effect produced on my mind by this misfortune is an anxious solicitude to afford you every aid in remedying its consequences with every degree of dispatch."

With all the energy of a youthful knight, the veteran Lake concentrated his forces at Sikandra, rapidly advanced against

the Maratha chief, and compelled him to retreat. Throwing out swarms of horsemen to occupy his pursuer's attention and obscure his own movements, Holkar suddenly threw himself upon Delhi with his infantry and artillery, hoping to carry it by surprise. On the 7th of October he drew his lines around it. Five miles in circuit, and defended only by a ruined wall, it seemed as if it must at once surrender; but Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident, and Colonel Burn, the commandant, inspired their small force of British and sepoy soldiers with such a spirit of chivalry, that for eight days they maintained the defence unbroken, and on October 17 Lake arrived to their relief. At his approach Holkar had drawn off his battalions, posting them at Dig,¹ a strong fortress belonging to his new ally, the Raja of Bhartpur, while with his troopers he carried fire and sword through the rich and cultivated country of the Doab.² Lake immediately started in pursuit, leaving General Fraser, with a force of all arms, to account for the Maratha infantry. Fraser attacked them at Dig on the 13th of November, and a sharp action ensued, in which the general was mortally wounded, and Monson, succeeding to the command, retrieved his impaired reputation by his conduct and courage. The defeat of the Marathas was complete. They lost eighty-seven guns (including fourteen which had been captured from Monson during his retreat), and between 3000 and 4000 killed and wounded. The British lost 643, killed and wounded. The fort of Dig having fired upon the conquerors, the town was invested in the following month, and carried by storm on the 23rd of December.

At the rate of twenty-three miles a day the indefatigable Lake kept up his pursuit of Holkar, who, however, generally contrived to keep a day's march ahead, until, by a forced march of fifty-six miles in twenty-four hours, he was run down at Fatehgarh,³ which he was preparing to attack.

¹ *Dig* (Dug), lat. 27° 28' N., lies in a marshy tract, surrounded by water for the greater part of the year.

² A fertile tract of alluvial plain lying between the Ganges and the Jumna—the granary of Upper India.

³ *Fatehgarh*, fort and town, lat. 27° 22' 55" N., three miles from Farackhabad; population, 14,435.

Holkar's scouts had led him to believe that the British troopers were still a day's march in the rear, and he had betaken himself to rest. His horses were all picketed; their riders, wrapped in their blankets, lying asleep by their sides. The cheers of the British proved a sharp *reveille*. Holkar left his men to contend as best they might against the sudden onset, while, with a small escort, he rode off to join his shattered battalions retreating from Dig. In his absence the Maratha cavalry attempted no steadfast defence; at the rush of Lake's dragoons they took to flight; 3000, it is said, were cut to pieces, and those who escaped had good reason to be grateful to the speed of their horses.

Lake advanced to the investment of Bhartpur.¹ A long series of successes had led him into the mistake of underrating his enemy, and he proposed to himself to carry this stronghold, as he had carried so many others, by a dash of the bayonets. Bhartpur, however, was not to be taken thus easily. It was eight miles in circumference; surrounded by a mud wall of great height and solidity; protected by several bastions and by a broad deep ditch filled with water; garrisoned by 8000 men, and by the fugitive battalions of Holkar's infantry. Moreover, the Raja was resolved to fight hardly for his capital and stronghold. The kingdom of the Marathas, he said, was in their saddle; his was behind his ramparts. With a force of artillery entirely inadequate to the work, Lake sat down before Bhartpur. His fighting men displayed a tenacity and an endurance worthy of their chief; but the enemy met them with a tenacity and an endurance not much inferior to their own. They dammed up the waters of the ditch, raising them to a level at which fording became impossible. When a breach was with difficulty effected, they set up palisades and similar defences behind it. They hurled at their assailants flaming bales of cotton soaked in oil, pots filled with burning combustibles, even logs of wood. Four successive assaults they repulsed, with terrible slaughter on both sides. The last was made on February 21, 1805. In the following April Lord Lake saw that operations must

¹ *Bhartpur*, lat. 27° 13' 5" N.; 35 miles from Agra; population, 66,163.

be suspended until he could bring up a sufficient force of artillery.

This failure produced an unfortunate impression on some of the native chiefs, which was not wholly effaced until the city was captured by Lord Combermere twenty-one years later. But the Raja himself was not deceived. The pertinacious courage and unfailing intrepidity of the British convinced him that they were dangerous enemies; and he therefore approached Lord Lake with offers of peace, which included a payment of twenty lakhs of rupees towards the expenses of the war. The British commander was not unwilling to accept them, and a treaty was signed on April the 21st.

During the siege Holkar had made several attacks on the British lines, always unsuccessfully; for his soldiers daily evinced a greater reluctance to face the "Feringhis;" and when the Raja of Bhartpur withdrew from his alliance, absolute submission seemed the only course open to him. But an unexpected prospect arose of a much more powerful confederate. Sindhia had been deeply mortified by Lord Wellesley's action in depriving him of Gohad and Gwalior, contrary, he said, to the treaty of Surji Anjangaon, or at least to the understanding on which he had agreed to sign it. His statement was confirmed both by General Wellesley and Major Malcolm, who strongly urged that the restoration of these places was binding on the good faith of the British Government. Lord Wellesley, however, was unwilling to leave in the Maratha chief's hands a fortress of such strength as Gwalior, and Sindhia was compelled to submit to a wrong which he deeply resented. When the prestige of the British arms was weakened by Colonel Monson's retreat, he began to dream of an opportunity of revenge, and addressed to the Governor-General a communication in which he censured the action of the Government in no hesitating language. Early in 1805 he announced his intention of marching to Bhartpur that he might settle the dispute between the Company and the Raja, and proceeded so far as to move his army across the Chambal, though he retired on the grave remonstrances of the British Resident. When Holkar, defeated and dispirited,

fell back after the treaty of Bhartpur, Sindhia received him in his camp at Sabalgarh, and on Lord Lake's approach the two chiefs withdrew towards Kota. Among other acts of hostility, Sindhia had attacked and plundered the Resident's camp, and he detained the Resident a prisoner. Lord Lake, therefore, forwarded to him a letter couched in imperative terms, insisting on the Resident's release within ten days, and warning him of the consequences of disobedience. At this threat he took alarm, and expressed a wish to renew amicable relations with the British authorities. Lord Wellesley, on his part, was anxious to conclude peace that he might reduce the military expenditure, which was fast emptying the treasury. Affairs were in train, therefore, for a satisfactory settlement, when the departure of Lord Wellesley and the arrival of a new Governor-General effected a startling change in the policy of the Government.

The brilliant successes of Lord Wellesley's administration bore irrefutable testimony to the largeness of his views and the energy and ability with which he carried them out. At Haidarabad he had crushed out the powerful French influence and reduced the Nizam to the position of a subsidiary prince. He had overthrown the kingdom of Mysore ; he had conquered the rich provinces of the Deccan. The splendid French battalions of Sindhia had melted away before him like snow, and the Marathas had been so effectually humbled that they never again recovered their former preponderance. He had doubled the revenue, the resources, and the territorial area of the Company. He ranks with Clive and Hastings among the makers of British India, raising a magnificent structure on the foundations which they had laid and consolidated. "He was the Akbar," says Mr. Marshman, "of the Company's dynasty. His individual character was impressed on every branch of the administration, and his inspiration animated every member of the service in every department and in every province. To those around him, who were under his immediate influence, he was the object of 'hero-worship,' and the designation usually applied to him was 'the glorious little man.'" With the

tenacity of genius he adhered to the policy on which he had decided when he first assumed the reins of government, and with untiring vigour carried it out to the minutest details, until the Company became the paramount Power in India, and the native princes its tributaries and feudatories from the Ganges to Cape Comorin.

At home the great little man had many warm admirers, but he had also many bitter adversaries, who condemned his policy as immoral and unjust, as dangerous in its consequences, and as opposed to the wishes and declarations of the Imperial Parliament. As for the Company, their support was half-hearted and uncertain, the Directors, as a commercial and mercantile body, shrinking from the burden of imperial responsibilities which was being imposed upon them, and apprehending the gravest financial difficulties. Even the statesmen of Great Britain were not free from anxiety, and so gallant a spirit as Lord Castlereagh feared we had grasped at an empire which we could not keep. It may be admitted that from certain points Lord Wellesley's policy was open to attack; but then comes the question, was any other really possible? The authority of the Mughal was nothing but a phantom; the Emperor himself was a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas; and if no paramount Power seized the vacant throne, India must inevitably sink into an anarchic condition and be desolated by internecine wars. That this paramount Power should be Great Britain was at least as desirable for the interests of India as for British interests. The plain truth is that the work we have done and have yet to do in India was not snatched at by eager hands, but has been imposed upon us by the pressure of circumstances.

When the news of Colonel Monson's disastrous retreat reached England early in 1805, the confidence of the Government and the patience of the Company alike gave way. "The proprietary," says Torrens, "were in financial despair at the dissipation of all their hopes of profit from peace, and Pitt's second administration was too weak and disheartened to assume the responsibility of defending the policy of fighting on till Holkar should be extinguished. What had been won

was all very well, and we must hold by it; but what we had not achieved had best be let alone, at all events until a more convenient season. Cornwallis condemned in no measured terms the renewal of a Maratha war, and the retention of Gwalior and Gohad against the protests of Sindhia; he was asked if he would once more go as Captain-General to retrench expenditure and make peace at any price." A man in his sixty-eighth year, prematurely feeble, and exhausted by arduous labours in the public service, he might well have declined; but he yielded, after a good deal of hesitation, to the importunities of the Government and the Company; and he arrived at Calcutta on July 29, to carry out a peace-at-any-price policy, which in his more vigorous years we feel sure he would have repudiated.

On the 30th Lord Wellesley resigned into the hands of his successor the great office which he had filled with so much splendour. Cornwallis at once took steps to emphasise the change of system which he represented. He disbanded the gorgeous bodyguard which had attended Lord Wellesley in all state pageants and processions. He dismissed the stately equipage which he had used, and trusted the viceregal dignity to an ordinary carriage and pair; and he lost no opportunity of declaring that he had come to India to introduce a summary and sweeping retrenchment. To Lord Lake he sent instructions to make no further movement, but to be satisfied to hold his ground while negotiations were pending. He announced that the Jumna was to be the future boundary of the Company's possessions; that Delhi was to be given up to Sindhia; the treaty with Jaipur to be concluded, and our alliances with the Rajput princes abrogated. Lord Lake in reply addressed a strong remonstrance against a course which must prove fatal to the interests of the Company and Great Britain, while it would involve all Central India in anarchy. But his letter never reached Cornwallis, who, travelling up to the North-West in the rainy season, was taken ill at Ghazipur,¹ and died there on October 5th, before he had been two weeks

¹ *Ghazipur*, lat. 25° 35' N.; on the N. bank of the Ganges; 44 miles N.E. of Benares; population, 32,885.

in the country. - A monument, with a marble tomb adorned with a statue by Flaxman, commemorates his stainless character and honourable career.

[Lord Wellesley arrived in England in time to pay a farewell visit to the dying statesman who had opened up to him his Indian career. A few days afterwards, on the 23rd of January 1806, William Pitt expired. Wellesley did not at once re-enter public life. For some time he was harassed with charges against his Indian administration made by a Sir John Paull; and after these broke down, some difficulty was experienced in satisfying the not unnatural pretensions to high office of a man who had occupied so splendid a position with such conspicuous success. At length, in July 1809, he was appointed ambassador to the Supreme Central Junta of Spain—a mission which enabled him to gratify his theatricality of taste—and, in the following December, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. There can be no question that in this office he displayed a commanding ability, and that the vigorous and steady support he gave to the policy of his great brother in the Peninsular War was of the highest value. But on most important questions of home politics he was much more liberal than his colleagues. Disagreements arose and grew more frequent; and, partly because he thought the war was not prosecuted with adequate energy, partly because the Cabinet would not concede the Catholic claims, he resigned office in January 1812. In the following May, after the assassination of the Prime Minister, Mr. Perceval, the Prince Regent commissioned him to form a Coalition Ministry, which should include Lords Grey and Grenville as well as Mr. Canning. He found it impossible to reconcile their different views, and Lord Liverpool entered upon his prolonged term of office as premier. Wellesley gave but a lukewarm support to an administration which was much too reactionary for a man of his broad and liberal sympathies, and protested strongly against the corn laws of 1818. In December 1821 he accepted the difficult post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a post probably never held by an abler or a stronger man. His administration was singularly effective and success-

ful, though it was disliked by the two extreme Irish factions; by the one because he maintained with unshaken resolution the supremacy of law and order—by the other because he was a strong advocate of the repeal of Catholic disabilities. In March 1828, when the Duke of Wellington became Premier and declared against Catholic emancipation, Lord Wellesley resigned. In 1831, in Earl Grey's Ministry, he was appointed Lord Steward of the Household; and in September 1833, the condition of Ireland being very serious, he crossed the Channel for a second time as Viceroy. His last official position was that of Lord Chamberlain in the Melbourne Ministry of 1835, but he held it only for a month. He continued to the last to cultivate the graces of literature and to indulge his fine taste in the composition of Latin and English verse, publishing some specimens of his polished muse in 1840 under the title of "*Primitiæ et Reliquiæ.*" He died on the 26th of September 1842, in his eighty-third year.]





CHAPTER V.

THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1814-1823.

War with the Gurkhas—Third Maratha War.

QUON the death of Lord Cornwallis, the senior member of the Council, Sir George Barlow, an experienced civil servant of very moderate abilities, succeeded to the Governor-Generalship provisionally, and at once made it known that he intended to carry out the instructions which his predecessor had brought with him. Under those instructions he restricted the Company's territories within the frontier-line of the Jumna, and abandoned the Rajput princes, with whom we had contracted alliances, to the relentless cruelty of the Maratha chiefs,—a shameful breach of solemn engagements, which no pacific considerations could justify. Barlow's loftiest idea of statesmanship was the adoption of a rigid economy in every branch of the service, in order to recruit, at all events for the time, the Company's finances, disregarding the fact that his forcibly-feeble policy would assuredly entail a heavy additional expenditure to restore the prestige and influence of the British name. Lord Lake was necessarily compelled to obey the orders received from Calcutta; though by skilful management he contrived to draw from Sindhia the first overtures for negotiations, which proceeded so smoothly and satisfactorily, that a treaty of peace was signed on November 23. Sindhia recovered his coveted fortress, and the river Chambal was defined as the boundary-line between his possessions and those of the British Government.

At this defection on the part of his confederate Holkar was deeply incensed, and began to retreat westward to seek support among the Sikhs. Lord Lake pursued him, however, with a rapidity which prevented him from taking up any important position, while he concluded an engagement with the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh, which bound the latter to expel Holkar if he entered the Punjab. Holkar then sued for peace. He met with a favourable reception, and was astonished at the favourable conditions Lord Lake imposed. They replaced him, in effect, in the *status quo ante*. And indeed it was absurd, as one of the singular features of the new policy was that the enemies of the British Government were treated much more leniently than its allies. Thus the subsidiary protection which the Government had afforded to the Rajas of Banda and Jaipur was coldly withdrawn, and as a reward for their fidelity to the Company they were abandoned to the cruel mercy of Holkar.

It was probably due as much to the feebleness of the Government as to the intrigues of Tipu's family that in 1806 the sepoys at Vellore broke out into mutiny, murdering their officers and all the Europeans at the station. The revolt was firmly crushed by Colonel Gillespie, and some of the ringleaders, according to an old Mughal custom, were blown from the guns; but the incident was an ominous one, and shocked the whole empire with a feeling of insecurity.

Lord Minto, 1807-1813.

In 1807 Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baron Minto, a Whig statesman and diplomatist of marked capacity and great force of character, took over the reins of power from Barlow's feeble hands. He had had considerable experience of public affairs as viceroy of Corsica, ambassador to Vienna, and President of the Board of Control, in each position displaying the faculty of governing, without which no man can be successful as a *ruler*, however efficient he may be as an *administrator*. The Company had enforced upon him their favourite policy of non-intervention; but though he obeyed orders, he was careful to uphold the honour and extend the influence of Great Britain. His diplomatic skill prevented any renewal of hostilities in Central

India, though its condition was one of chronic disorder, and even Lord Minto's address would not have maintained the peace much longer. His political sagacity was evinced in nothing more clearly and auspiciously than in his extension of the commercial relations of the Indian Government by sending embassies to the Punjab, to Afghanistan, and Persia; and he intrusted these missions to those brilliant disciples of Lord Wellesley—men whose services to our Indian Empire the historian records with pride—Charles Metcalfe, who was sent to Lahore, Mountstuart Elphinstone to Peshawar, and John Malcolm to Teheran. But though Lord Minto's reign was principally distinguished by its pacific work, it was not without the lustre of military glory. He organised a military and naval expedition in 1810, which added the fine island of Mauritius to the British empire, and another in 1811, which he accompanied in person, conquered Java. For these services he was raised to an earldom, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. He resigned office in 1813, and died in the following year.

The Marquis of Hastings, 1813-1823.

Lord Moira—he is better known, perhaps, by his later title, Marquis of Hastings—had earned distinction as a soldier before he went to India; but no one perhaps had suspected him to be gifted with the eminent administrative capacity which he afterwards exhibited. Francis Rawdon Hastings, Lord Rawdon, son of the Earl of Moira, was born in 1754, so that he was close on his sixtieth birthday when he assumed the Indian “proconsulship.” Educated at Oxford, he evinced an early desire and aptitude for a military career, and entered the army in 1771 as ensign in the 15th Foot. Owing to his aristocratic connections his rise was rapid, but he justified it by his conspicuous merits. In 1773, as lieutenant in the 5th Foot, he embarked for America, where, in 1775, he made for himself a reputation by his brilliant conduct at the battle of Bunker's Hill. In 1780 he served under Lord Cornwallis as second in command at the battle of Camden; and in the following year, on the 25th of April, with only 900 men, attacked and defeated the American general, Green, who was at the

head of more than double that number, at Hobkirk's Hill. His health then compelled his return to England, but on the homeward voyage his ship was captured by a French fleet under the Comte de Grasse, and he was conveyed a prisoner to Brest. He soon secured his release, and on his arrival in England received a very honourable welcome, was appointed aide-de-camp to the King, and elevated to a British peerage. He became a close friend and adviser of the Prince of Wales and a leading member of the Whig party, speaking frequently in Parliament, and always with good effect. About this time (1780) he inherited the estates of his maternal uncle the Earl of Huntingdon, and in 1793 succeeded his father in the Earldom of Moira. In the summer of 1794 Lord Moira, who had been promoted to the rank of major-general, landed at Ostend with a column of 10,000 British troops to march to the assistance of the Duke of York, who was retreating rapidly through Brabant to Flanders, and by his bad generalship had placed his army in a position of the greatest peril. By a skilful forced march across country, Lord Moira succeeded in effecting a junction with the Duke and delivering him from his embarrassments.

When the Whigs under Fox and Grenville came into office in 1806, he received the appointment of Master-General of the Ordnance; but in the following year the revolution of the political wheel of fortune brought the Tories again to the top, and he resigned. On the assassination of the Prime Minister, Mr. Percival, in 1812, Lord Moira received, as Lord Wellesley had done, a commission to form an administration, but failed, as he had done, from inability to reconcile the conflicting claims of Lords Grey and Grenville and Mr. Canning. In 1813¹ he was appointed Governor-General of India, and to his illustrious services in that splendid but responsible position we now invite the reader's attention. He arrived at Calcutta and assumed office on the 4th of October.

Lord Moira, as soon as he came to understand the condition of affairs in India, decided strongly against the peace-at-

¹ In this year the Company's charter was renewed for twenty years, but their commercial monopoly was broken up, the whole nation, under certain conditions, being admitted to both the export and import trade.

any-price policy which the Company had imposed on his predecessors, and reverted to the more vigorous and better-defined policy of Lord Wellesley, expressly declaring it to be his opinion "that our object should be to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so; to hold the other states as vassals, though not in name; and to oblige them, in return for our guarantee and protection, to perform the two great feudatory duties of supporting our rule with their forces and submitting their military duties to our arbitration."

But before he could make much progress in the work of consolidation and reorganisation or deal with the anarchy in Central India, he was called upon to check the aggressive movements of the Gurkhas of Nepal.

War with the Gurkhas, 1814-1815.

The Gurkhas, a warlike race, inhabiting the mountain-fastnesses of Nepal,¹ trace their descent to Hindu emigrants, and claim to be of Rajput origin. The indigenous inhabitants, called Newars, belong to the Indo-Tibetan stock and are followers of Buddha. The sovereignty of the Gurkhas dates only from 1767-1768, when their chief, Prithvi Narayan, made himself master of Khatmandu, and finally of the whole valley. Under succeeding rulers they continued to extend their possessions on every side. To the west of Khatmandu they found the hill-chiefs exhausted by internecine warfare, and in no condition to combine together for mutual defence. The Gurkhas, though without artillery, now seized upon every hill-fort from the Ganges to the Satlaj. When the British Government first took heed of their movements, their general was erecting strong forts and stockades at convenient positions—Almora, Srinagar, and Malaun. A strong line of fortified posts guarded the Sikh frontier, the extensive country between Khatmandu and the Satlaj was held under by a military force;

¹ Nepal stretches along the northern border of British India, and is included in the southern ranges of the Himalayas. It lies between lat. 26° 25' and 30° 17' N., and long. 80° 6' and 88° 14' E.; area, 54,000 square miles; population, about 2,000,000 to 2,500,000.

while on the west the Raja of Sikkim was deprived of half his territories, and compelled to pay tribute for the remainder. To the north, however, their extension was impracticable, owing to a barren range of lofty mountains and the immense power of China beyond; and therefore they began to turn their eyes towards the fine plains of the south. Hence arose a succession of aggressive movements along the northern frontier of our territory, especially in the districts of Gorakhpur and Saran. Lord Minto addressed a strong remonstrance to the Nepal Government, and a joint commission was appointed to investigate the respective claims of the two Powers. It decided in favour of the British, and a military detachment was sent to occupy the disputed ground. In the rainy season it was withdrawn, and thereupon our chief police-station was attacked by large bodies of Nepalese, and the officers were compelled to fly with a loss of eighteen killed and six wounded. A similar foray was directed against another police-station, and Lord Moira decided that force must be used to repel and punish these unprovoked aggressions.

In 1814 war was declared. The British troops, under Generals Gillespie and Ochterlony, numbered about 34,000 men, of whom about 12,500 were irregulars and native contingents. They advanced in four columns on the western frontier, beyond the Jumna and near the Satlaj, because in that quarter the country was considered easier of access. On the 19th of October the advance of General Gillespie's column (about 3500 strong) started under Colonel Carpenter, and, by the Simli Pass, marched into the valley of Dehra Dun. Three days later the main body, under Colonel Mawbey, occupied the town of Dehra, and continued to follow the retiring Gurkhas in the direction of Kalunga or Nulaparri, situated about five miles to the north-east. This was a small fort, perched on the edge of an isolated hill, about 600 feet high, the steep sides of which were clothed with jungle and obstructed by stockades. Colonel Mawbey succeeded in dragging some guns to the summit, and, bringing them to bear upon the fort, a quadrangular building of stone, hazarded an attack. It was repulsed, and he waited for further orders. When

General Gillespie arrived on the 26th with the remainder of the force, he ordered the erection of a battery of heavier guns, and having pounded away at the walls for some days, fixed the 31st for the assault. The storming party consisted of four columns and a reserve. Three of the columns, having to make a considerable circuit, had not reached their allotted stations, when the fourth was suddenly surprised by a sortie of the enemy, who, however, were beaten off. Gillespie then ordered his men to carry the place by escalade; but the guns had made no impression on the works, and the assailants were received with a withering fire, which rendered it impossible to plant the ladders.

Chafing at this discomfiture, the General ordered up three fresh companies of the 53rd and a company of dismounted dragoons, whom he led in person against the gate. His impatience carried him ahead of his men, whom the pitiless fire somewhat daunted, and while brandishing his sword and calling on them to follow, a musket-ball penetrated his breast. This disaster proved fatal. The assailants lost nerve, and were driven back with severe loss. Colonel Mawbey then drew off his shattered battalions and retired to Dehra to await the arrival of a battering train from Delhi.

When this came up the siege of Kalunga was resumed on the 25th of November, and on the 27th a breach having been effected, the storming column rushed to the attack. Strange to say, they were ordered not to load their muskets, but to carry the breach by the bayonet alone. On attempting to mount it, they saw before them a grim, forbidding sight. Within the breach, at the bottom of a steep descent of about fourteen feet, part of the garrison were prepared to receive them with spears and pikes, while in the rear stood the remainder armed with muskets and matchlocks. The British troops retired a short distance, where they were halted, and for a couple of hours kept exposed to the enemy's fire—a gross and shameful blunder, which resulted in terrible carnage. Finally, the assault was abandoned, and bombardment resorted to, when, as their bare stone walls afforded them no protection from shot and shell, the Gurkhas were so swiftly stricken down

that in the course of three days they were reduced from their original complement of 600 to 70. The air they breathed was rendered pestiferous by the unburied dead, and the survivors were compelled to evacuate the fort they had defended with such admirable tenacity.

On the 20th of December Colonel Mawbey was superseded in the command by General Martindale, who failed in an attack on Fort Jaitak. General Wood's division never assumed the offensive at all, but after some inglorious raids across the frontier, withdrew into cantonments at Gorakhpur. General Mawbey's column, 8000 strong, was ordered to march upon Khatmandu, but the singular incompetency of its chief exposed it to serious losses in skirmishes from which it gained no credit. The sinewy, robust, little Gurkhas, as agile as they were strong, dashed in irregular onsets on our pipe-clayed ranks, and with their heavy knives or *kukris* brought down their victims almost before they were aware of the attack. Mawbey was reprimanded and recalled by the Governor-General, but Wood, his successor, was not less timid and inefficient; he made no advance towards Khatmandu, but, after some fruitless marches and countermarches, repeated his favourite procedure of retiring into cantonments, where, at all events, he could not waste the lives of his men. It may be doubted whether in any of our little wars—whether even in our campaign in the Netherlands during the inglorious days of Lord Chatham and the Duke of York—our generals ever exhibited a greater lack of courage, professional enthusiasm, and military skill. One is glad to turn, where the picture is so dark, to a single spot of brightness—that which represents the soldierly conduct and successful movements of the column under Major-General (afterwards Sir David) Ochterlony.

Ochterlony was opposed by the ablest of the Gurkha chiefs, Amar Sing Kapa, but he carried the fort of Nalagarh, forced his way into the mountains, and captured Ramgarh, on a mountain summit 4600 feet above the sea. Continuing in the spring of 1815 (the year of Waterloo) his victorious advance, he drove the Gurkhas from point to point, taking Ryla, Deonthal, and Malaur in quick succession, and so dispirited them by his

skilful and resolute operations, that the Nepalese Government sued for peace. The terms imposed by the Governor-General were the cession of the hill country west of the Kali or Gogra, the abandonment of all claims on the debatable land which gave occasion to the war, the cession of the Tarai throughout its whole extent, the restoration of a district belonging to the Raja of Sikkim, and the reception of a British Resident at Khatmandu. After a considerable waste of time, the Nepal durbar accepted these terms, and a treaty was drawn up and ratified by the Governor-General on the 9th of December. Immediately afterwards the court of Khatmandu raised objections which caused a further delay, and when Lord Moira made concessions, pressed new demands; so that at length another campaign was forced upon us. The chief command, military as well as political, was vested in Sir David Ochterlony, who, with an army of 16,000 men, advanced from Patna, stormed the fortified heights commanding the entrance to the valley of Khatmandu, and had penetrated to a point within a few miles of the capital, when the Nepalese chiefs gladly accepted the terms they had before rejected, and ceded also the valley of the Rapti. By the treaty of Seganti, which still governs our relations with Nepal, the Gurkhas withdrew on the south-east from Sikkim, and on the south-west from the southern slopes of the Himalayas, which, passing into our possession, have provided our civil and military services with the healthy highland retreats of Simla and Landaure, Mussari and Naini Tal. The Gurkhas now furnish some of the trustiest and bravest of our native regiments.

Expedition against the Pindaris, 1817.

The Governor-General, after concluding peace with the Nepalese, was free to direct his attention to the state of Central India, which was devastated by bands of freebooters, known as the Pindaris. "As opposed to the Marathas," says Sir W. Hunter, "who were at least a Hindu nationality, bound by the traditions of a united government, the Pindaris were merely plundering bands, closely corresponding to the free

companions of Mediæval Europe. Of no common race, and of no common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken men of all India—Afghans, Marathas, or Jats.¹ They represented the débris of the Mughal Empire, which had not been incorporated by any of the local Muhamadan or Hindu powers that sprang up out of its ruins. For a time, indeed, it seemed as if the inheritance of the Mughal might pass to these armies of banditti. In Bengal similar hordes had formed themselves out of the disbanded Muhamadan troops and the Hindu predatory castes. But they had been dispersed under the vigorous rule of Warren Hastings." The evil endured much longer, and on a larger scale, in Central India, until it could be crushed out only by a regular war, under the direction, strange to say, of another Hastings.²

The headquarters of the Pindaris were in Malwa, the richest part of Central India, but they extended their depredations as far as the opposite coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. Their most powerful leader was Amir Khan, who had a well-organised army of many regiments and several batteries of cannon. Two other well-known chiefs, at the head of large bodies, were Chitu and Karmi, who at one time paid a ransom to Sindhia of £100,000. To crush these freebooters Lord Hastings in 1817 collected the strongest British army which had been seen in India. It consisted of 81,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, besides 23,000 irregular troops, and advanced in three divisions: one under the Governor-General himself, from Bengal, crossing the Jumna near Kirki; another, under Generals Hislop and Sir John Malcolm, from the Deccan; and the third, under Sir William Keir, from Gujarat. The

¹ The Jats, who now number about one-fifth of the population of the Punjab, have been identified with the Getæ or Scythians.

² The evil they did may be estimated from the following facts:—In March 1816 three divisions, one of 10,000 and the others of 5000 each, broke into the Nizam's territories. One of the smaller penetrated to Guntur and Masulipatam, and for eight days swept to and fro, burning, pillaging, and slaughtering. From the report of a commission of inquiry it appeared that in this period 182 persons were slain, 505 wounded, and 3633 tortured. The marauders returned in December and repeated their atrocities.

Maratha chiefs had always favoured the Pindaris, but Sindhia was overawed by this imposing military demonstration, and signed a treaty (November 5th), by which he bound himself to assist in their destruction, and furnish a contingent to act under a British officer. This treaty abrogated the unfortunate condition in the treaty of Sirji Arjangaon, which restricted the British Government from forming alliances with the Rajput princes. Amir Khan soon followed the example of Sindhia, and hastened to conclude an engagement by which he undertook, on the British guaranteeing to him the territories which he actually possessed under grants from Holkar, to disband his freebooters, and, on receiving five lakhs of rupees as its estimated value, to give up his artillery. As a hostage, his son and heir was sent to Delhi.

The Governor-General then proceeded to distribute his forces so as to draw a ring of iron round the various divisions of the Pindaris, who had retired into Malwa, and converge in upon them with gradually narrowing limits. Some delay was caused by a severe outbreak of Asiatic cholera, but as soon as the health of the troops was restored, the advance was steadily pressed, scattering the enemy in every direction, destroying their camps, and breaking up their organisation. Kainu surrendered to Sir John Malcolm in February 1818; Wazil Muhammad, who had fled to Gwalior, was given up by Sindhia; and on January 23rd, Chitu was surprised and defeated by Colonel Heath. With some two hundred followers, he wandered about Malwa for upwards of a twelve-month. At length he was left with only his son and a single follower. Compelled by hunger to separate from them, he strayed into a jungle near Ahirwas, and was killed by a tiger. Thenceforward the Pindaris, as a marauding confederacy, ceased to exist.

Third Maratha War, 1817-1818.

Almost simultaneously with the campaign against the Pindaris, the British Government found itself once more engaged in hostilities with the Marathas, the three great chiefs at Poona, Nagpur, and Indore separately revolting against the

rule of the Paramount Power. Baji Rao, the Peshwa, had long been dissatisfied with the terms imposed by the treaty of Bassein in 1802, and his discontent flamed into active indignation when he was compelled, in June 1817, to sign a new treaty at Poona, which relieved the Gaekwar of Baroda from his control, ceded additional territories to the British for the pay of the subsidiary force, and bound him to refer all future disputes with other princes to the arbitrament of the Calcutta Government. Under pretence of co-operating with us against the Pindaris, he proceeded to increase his army and to strengthen and provision his forces. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the British Resident, one of the most brilliant of Anglo-Indian administrators, suspecting the Peshwa's designs, summoned a British regiment from Bombay to strengthen the small sepoy force at his disposal, and retired to Kirki,¹ where a camp was rapidly formed. There, on the 5th of November, he was suddenly attacked by the Peshwa's army under Bappu Gokla, numbering 18,000 horse and 8000 foot, with a large train of artillery. The British force, under Colonel Burr, did not exceed 2800; but it fought with splendid determination, and completely defeated the Marathas, whose rout the Peshwa beheld from Purbatir Hill, one mile south of Poona. Mr. Elphinstone's account of this memorable action, in which the British lost only 18 killed and 57 wounded, while the enemy left 500 on the field, will be read with interest.

"The Peshwa now saw that he must throw off the mask. Accordingly he sent a very bullying message to desire I would move the cantonment to such place as he should direct, reduce the strength of the native brigade, and send away the Europeans; if I did not comply, peace would not last. I refused, but said I was most anxious for peace, and should not cross the river towards Poona, but if his army came towards ours, we should attack it. Within one hour afterwards out they came, with such readiness that we had only time to leave the Sargum [the Residency] with the clothes on our backs, and crossing the river at a ford, march off to the bridge,

¹ *Kirki*, lat. 18° 33' N.; 146 miles S.E. of Bombay; 4 miles N.W. of Poona; population, 7252.

with the river between us and the enemy. The Sargum, with all my books, journals, letters, manuscripts, &c., was soon in a blaze, but we got safe to the Kirki bridge, and soon after joined the line.

“While the men and followers were fording, we went ourselves to observe the enemy. The sight was magnificent as the tide rolled out of Poona. Grant Duff, who saw it from the height above the powder-cave, described it as resembling the bore in the Gulf of Cambay. Everything was hushed except the trampling and neighing of horses, and the whole valley was filled with them like a river or flood. I had always told Colonel Burr that when war broke out we must recover our character by a forward movement that should encourage and fire our own men while it checked our enemies, and I now, by a lucky mistake, instead of merely announcing that the Peshwa was at war, sent an order to move down at once and attack him. Without this, Colonel Burr has since told me, he would not have advanced. However, he did advance.

“We joined, and, after some unavoidable delay, the Dupari battalion joined too. When opposite the nullah we halted (injudiciously, I think) to cannonade, and at the same time the enemy began from twelve or fifteen guns. Soon after the whole mass of cavalry came on at speed in the most splendid style. The rush of horse, the sound of the onset, the waving of flags, the brandishing of spears, were grand beyond description, but perfectly ineffectual. One great body, however, formed on our left and rear, and when the first battalion of the 7th was drawn off to attack Major Pinto, who appeared on our left, and was quite separated from the European regiment, this body charged it with great vigour, and broke through it and the European regiment.

“At this time the rest of the line was pretty well occupied with shot, matchlocks, and, above all, with rockets, and I own I thought there was a good chance of our losing the battle. The first battalion of the 7th, however, though it had expended all its ammunition, survived the charge, and was brought back to the line by Colonel Burr, who showed in-

finite coolness and courage, and after some more firing and some advancing, together with detailing a few companies to our right, we found ourselves alone in the field, and the sun set. . . . If we had not made this movement forward, the Peshwa's troops would have been quite bold, ours cowed, and we doubtful of their fidelity; we should have been cannonaded and rocketed in our own camp, and the horse would have been careering within our pickets. As it is, the Peshwa's army has been glad to get safe behind Poona, and we have been almost as quiet as if encamped on the Roodee at Delhi. We did not lose a hundred men altogether, and we have quite set our name up again."

This signal defeat completely cowed the Peshwa, and on the 13th Colonel Smith with reinforcements arrived in front of Poona. Four days later he moved to attack the Maratha camp, but found it deserted, with the tents still standing. As for the Peshwa, his heart had failed him, and he had made his escape during the night. His capital surrendered, and a pursuit of the retreating army was successful in capturing eighteen guns with their tumbrils and ammunition, and a large quantity of baggage. After reigning exactly one hundred years, the dynasty of Balaji was humbled in the dust.¹

A very similar scene was enacted at Nagpur,² where the Maratha Raja, instead of being warned by the Peshwa's defeat, had the inconceivable folly to imitate his example. Apa Sahib had succeeded to power by poisoning his kinsman, the late Raja. His unfriendly attitude towards the British, and his defiance in publicly assuming the dress of honour, and the "*juri putka*," or golden streamer, a symbol of lofty rank, transmitted to him by the Peshwa, induced Mr. Jenkins, the British Resident, to collect his small force of two battalions of sepoy infantry, with detachments of artillery and cavalry, 1400

¹ The seven Peshwas were:—Balaji Vishwanath, *d.* 1721; Baji Rao, 1721-1740; Balaji Baji Rao, 1740-1761; Madhu Rao, 1761-1772; Narayan Rao, 1772; Madhu Rao Narayan, 1774-1795; Baji Rao II., 1795-1818.

² *Nagpur*, lat. 21° 9' 30" N., on the Nag; seat of administration of the Central Provinces; population, 100,000.

men in all, under the command of Colonel Scott, and occupy the Sitabaldi Hill, in the centre of the city. The Raja's army mustered about 12,000 horse and 8000 foot, of whom 3000 were Arabs, with 36 guns. At sunset, on the 26th of November, they began the attack with a heavy fire of musketry, which did a good deal of damage to the British infantry posted on the northern extremity of the hill, but the defence was spiritedly maintained, and about two in the morning the enemy retired. The besieged took advantage of the pause to make fresh cartridges, and throw up a hasty defence of sacks of flour and grain and water-barrels, which might afford a little cover. At daybreak the attack was renewed with increased vehemence. About two o'clock a tumbril exploded on the northern eminence, and taking advantage of the confusion that ensued, the Arabs swarmed up the ascent, drove off the sepoy, and with their guns opened a heavy fire on the southern and larger crest. In all directions the enemy closed in upon the defenders, whose position became one of imminent danger. One-fourth, including fourteen officers, had been put *hors de combat*, and the supplies of ammunition and provisions were running very short. At this moment a courageous exploit snatched victory out of what seemed inevitable disaster. Captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the sepoy horse, had several times asked leave to charge; but Colonel Scott, afraid of their being overwhelmed by the hostile masses, had refused. Observing the critical circumstances of the defence, he repeated his application; it was reluctantly granted. "Tell him," said the Colonel, "to charge at his own peril." "At my peril be it," exclaimed Fitzgerald; and calling upon his troopers, he dashed at the enemy full gallop, rode headlong over them, captured a couple of guns, and returned with them in triumph. The defence gained new heart; and another tumbril exploding on the northern hill, the sepoy with a loud cheer rushed forward and recovered the position. By noon the battle was over and the Maratha army in full retreat.

Apa Sahib, dismayed by the failure of the attack, essayed, with timid duplicity, to disown all connection with it; but on the 12th of December General Doveton arrived with strong

reinforcements, and the Resident demanded that the Raja should surrender and his army be disbanded. The first condition was accepted, the second had to be enforced by arms, and in an action at Sabulpur, fought on the 19th of December, the Marathas were chastised so severely that no further resistance was attempted. Mr. Jenkins proposed to retain Apa Sahib on the throne under British control, reducing him to a mere puppet prince, and annexing a portion of his territories ; but a renewal of his intrigues, and the discovery of his complicity in the late Raja's murder, exhausted the patience of the Governor-General, who ordered his arrest. He contrived, however, to escape to the Mahadeo Hills, and eventually found his way, a wretched fugitive, into the Punjab. A grandson of the late Raja was raised to the throne with the title of Raghuji III., and during his long minority—that is, until 1830—the administration of the principality was undertaken by the British Resident. Raghuji III. died without issue in 1853, and the state was then declared to have lapsed to the British Government, and was administered, under the Commissioner of the “Nagpur Province,” by a commission of officers, until, in 1861, it was united, with the Sagar and Narbuda territories, into the “Central Provinces,” the headquarters of which are stationed at the city of Nagpur.¹

We have now only one member of the Maratha confederacy to account for. Jeswant Rao Holkar, the Maharaja of Indore, who in December 1805 was defeated by Lord Lake, afterwards became insane, and died in 1811, leaving the regency in the hands of a favourite concubine, Talsi Bai, during the minority of his son, Mulhar Rao. For some years

¹ In the centre of the city rises Sitabaldi Hill, its summit crowned with a fort which commands a beautiful and extensive prospect. Below, on the north and west, lies the prettily wooded station of Sitabaldi ; to the north, the military lines and bazaars, and still farther north, the suburb of Takli, once the headquarters of the Nagpur irregular force, but now occupied only by a few bungalows. To the south spreads the broad sheet of water known as the Jama Taleo, and farther east, the city, embowered in luxuriant foliage. The handsome tanks and gardens outside the city were constructed by the Maratha princes, of whose palace (of black basalt), burnt down in 1864, only the great Nakarkhana gate remains.

the court was a chaos of rivalry and intrigue, while the country was everywhere devastated by marauding bands of Pindaris. The army broke out into fierce revolt, and the queen-regent made an earnest entreaty for British protection. While the negotiations were in progress, the Peshwa plunged into hostilities with the Company, and the Maratha chiefs of Indore immediately manifested a disposition to combine with him against the common enemy. On the morning of December the 20th, the boy prince, being enticed from an outer tent where he was playing, was carried off, and a guard placed over the queen-regent. Anticipating her fate, she resolutely refused all sustenance; but the soldiers grew impatient of so slow a method of suicide, and hurrying her in her palanquin to the bank of the Sipra, struck off her head and threw her body into the stream.

The Indore army lay encamped on the left bank of the Sipra, at Mahidpur, commanding the only practicable ford in the vicinity. The British generals, Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Hislop, on arriving at the spot, ordered an immediate advance, forced the passage of the river, and, in the teeth of seventy pieces of artillery, attacked the enemy all along the line. The Marathas made no steady resistance, except in the centre, where the fighting was very desperate; but the wings having broken and fled, the centre was taken in the rear by a brigade of British infantry, and before dusk the battle was over and the victory won. The British loss was severe—778 killed and wounded; that of the enemy exceeded 3000. The beaten army made some show of rallying, but was eventually dispersed by a column under Sir John Malcolm.

A treaty was concluded at Mandesar on the 6th of January 1818, which reduced the territories of the Maharaja within their present limits, and placed him in the position of a feudatory prince and vassal towards the British Government. Mulhar Rao was recognised as the occupant of the throne; he died in 1833 without issue, and his widow adopted as his son a boy named Martand Rao. The adoption proved to be unpopular, and the boy was deposed by a cousin, Hari Rao, who had been imprisoned for his share in an unsuccessful

rebellion since 1819. His accession was very welcome to chiefs and people ; but captivity had impaired his powers, and his reign was characterised by incessant commotion and intrigue. He died in 1843, and a few months later his adopted son, who was unmarried and without an heir. The selection of a successor was assigned to the British Government, who installed Tukaji Rao, second son of Baji Rao, and the present Maharaja.

The fate of Baji Rao must next be told. His dominions were annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and he himself, having surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, was permitted to reside at Bithur, near Cawnpur, with a yearly pension of £80,000. His adopted son was that Nana Sahib, of evil memory, who played so terrible a part in the great mutiny. To occupy the Peshwa's place as the traditional head of the Maratha confederacy, the lineal descendant of Sivaji was brought from obscurity and placed by Mountstuart Elphinstone, as Commissioner, on the musnad or state cushion of Satara.¹ Kolhapur² was spared by our clemency, and, under our supervision, ruled by representatives of Sivaji's line until the death of Sivaji IV., in December 1883, when another Maratha youth, Teshwant Rao, was elevated to the throne under the name of Shahaji.

Having effected the pacification of Central India, and consolidated our empire into the form and substance it retained, with little modification, for the next thirty years, Lord Hastings was left free to carry out numerous measures of reform in the various departments of the public service. When he resigned office on New Year's Day 1823, he was fairly entitled to say that he had done much to extend and strengthen the British power, much to amend and economise the administration, much to lessen the burdens of the Indian population, and that in his double capacity of Governor and Captain-General he had deserved well of the commonwealth.

¹ *Satara*, lat. 17° 41' N.; 56 miles S. of Poona; population, 29,028. The state lapsed to the British in 1848 for want of a direct heir.

² *Kolhapur*, lat. 16° 42' N.; 144 miles S.E. of Poona; population, 38,599.



CHAPTER VI.

A PACIFIC PERIOD, 1823-1835.

Earl Amherst, 1823-1828—Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835—First Burmese War—Sir Charles Metcalfe, 1836.

IN the spring of 1822, when the home authorities received information that the Marquis of Hastings intended to resign the Governor-Generalship, that splendid and responsible office was placed at the disposal of one of the most brilliant of living orators, one of the ablest of living politicians, the Right Hon. George Canning. When he accepted it, many of his friends were surprised that he should consent thus to withdraw himself from the arena where he had won his fame. But he could hardly have desired a nobler field for the exercise of his highest powers than our Indian empire afforded; and there was this more sordid consideration, that his means were limited, and the ample income attached to the viceroyalty would enable him to add to them considerably. Before he had completed the necessary preparations, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Londonderry (better known as Lord Castlereagh), died by his own hand (August 1822), and thus threw open to Canning a career much more congenial to his ambition. He resigned the Indian appointment and accepted the portfolio of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

For the vacancy thus created two eligible candidates were proposed: Lord Amherst, who had distinguished himself by his diplomatic skill in an embassy to China, and Lord William Bentinck, a man of high character, who had held the govern-

ment of Madras, and been recalled on most inadequate grounds. The choice fell upon Lord Amherst, who arrived at Calcutta on the 1st of August 1823. In the interval the office of Governor-General had been provisionally filled by the senior member of Council, the Hon. John Adam, whose brief tenure of responsibility was marked by nothing of greater interest than the imposition of some ill-advised restrictions on the liberty of the press.

We have headed this chapter "A Pacific Period," and the fifteen years it will briefly chronicle were, on the whole, comparatively free from war's alarms, and saw no such great military achievements as those which had overthrown Tipu, subjugated the Nizam, and crushed the Marathas. Yet Lord Amherst had scarcely assumed the responsibilities of government when he found himself involved in hostilities of an unprecedented character. Hitherto our Indian campaigns had been directed against the native princes, and our military operations been confined within our own borders. But the new adversary who challenged our arms lay outside of our frontier, and, in taking up the challenge, we were compelled to act under novel conditions. For, first, our Indian executive had had no experience in the conduct of combined naval and military expeditions; and, second, it had no knowledge of what might be the temper and conduct of our sepoy troops when making war beyond the seas.

The First Burmese War, 1824-1825.

The territories which border on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, and extend along the valley of the Irawaddi—the *Golden Chersonese* of Ptolemy—had gradually been conquered by peoples of the Tibeto-Chinese race, and formed into a single state under the sovereignty of the king of Ava. About 1750 a new Burmese dynasty arose, founded by Alaungpaya or Alompra, whose successors subdued Arakan as late as 1784, and Assam as late as 1800. A people of extraordinary arrogance, ignorant of British resources, the Burmese, when they had fought their way to our frontier, refused to accept it as a barrier to further extension, and began a series of encroachments upon the British districts. When remonstrances were addressed to the

Burmese court, it alleged that these were made for no other purpose than to seize the Arakanese who fled from the cruelty of their conquerors. Two embassies were sent to Ava to effect a friendly agreement, but with no result. The hostile feeling of the Burmese increased in bitterness, and it was encouraged by the forbearance with which our Government, engaged in consolidating its vast dominions, treated their numerous acts of aggression. Mr. Judson, the American missionary, who, during a ten years' residence in the country, had acquired a thorough knowledge of its inhabitants, gives an amusing example of the contemptuous speech with which they referred to the conquerors of India. "The English," they said, "are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance to dethrone kings and take possession of countries to which they have no right? They contrive to conquer and govern the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of displaying our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations, now slaves to the English, and will encourage them to throw off the yoke."

Such being the spirit in which the Burmese regarded us, war became inevitable, and was formally proclaimed by Lord Amherst on the 24th of February 1824. Our generals, in concerting their plan of operations, had to consider the nature of the country in which they were to be carried on, and the mode of warfare by which they would be resisted. The country was a region of wood and swamp, inundated at certain seasons, and at all times cursed with pestilential vapours. It was, moreover, an unknown region, for, with the exception of the littoral and the strips of land along the course of the navigable rivers, it was entirely unexplored. To conduct an army through such a country, even with the help of a friendly population, must always be a task of difficulty; when the population was hostile, and prepared to meet invaders with a desperate resistance behind trenches and stockades, it became one of danger.

These stockades were admirably adapted for defensive purposes. They consisted of square or oblong enclosures, formed of solid beams of timber ten to twenty feet high, or of bamboos and young greenwood, all firm-set in the ground and fastened at the top by transverse beams, with no more openings left than were necessary as embrasures and loopholes. In the interior, platforms or embankments were raised, and gingals, or small guns, carrying a ball of six or twelve ounces, mounted. Sometimes the work was protected by inner and outer ditches, and complicated by smaller stockades, abattis, and various kinds of ingenious defences.

It was determined by the military authorities to avoid as much as possible campaigning operations in a country of this description, and to attempt to settle the war by penetrating to the capital by means of the river Irawadi. A flotilla carrying troops could, at the proper season, be conveyed about 500 miles in six weeks. Unfortunately the proper season was not chosen, as the expedition started at the beginning of the heavy rains. It consisted of 11,000 troops, infantry and artillery—about one half being British—under the command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, accompanied by the *Liffey* frigate (Commodore Grant), a couple of sloops of war, several of the Company's cruisers having the transports in tow, and about 20 gun-brigs and 20 war-boats, each carrying a piece of heavy ordnance. The rendezvous was Port Cornwallis, on Great Andaman Island. Sailing north-east on the 5th of May, the expedition appeared off the mouths of the Irawadi on the 9th. On the 11th it ascended the river to Rangoon, which was immediately taken possession of, and found to contain eight British traders and pilots, two American missionaries, one Armenian, and a Greek—twelve inhabitants in all—the whole native population having obeyed orders and retired into the surrounding forests. At this juncture the rains set in, and Sir Archibald Campbell decided to occupy the town with his troops, obtaining the necessary provisions and supplies from India. He was not allowed, however, to rest undisturbed, and while disease broke out in his little army, incapacitating every other man for duty, he was harassed by numerous attacks

of the enemy, which, though easily repulsed, imposed on the soldiers a constant state of watchfulness. On his part, Sir Archibald was by no means disposed to leave the Burmese alone. An expedition against Kamaint, where some stockades were armed with thirty pieces of artillery, resulted in a splendid success; and the capture of Synam, the ancient capital of Pegu, produced a good effect. The population of Rangoon began to return to their habitations, and the inhabitants of Pegu, as a whole, showed no desire to perpetuate the tyranny of their Burmese masters. Unfortunately, the courage of the latter, which had evinced a tendency to show a preponderant quality of discretion—the Falstaffian virtue—was revived by the defeat of a brigade of native infantry under Colonel Smith at Kaiklu on the 7th of October. But this one failure was soon more than compensated by successes in various directions, especially at Kokein on the 15th of December; and a considerable force traversing Assam, defeated the Burmese, and drove them from the country, which became a British province (January 25, 1825).

When the position of the Rangoon army was known at Calcutta, two expeditions were equipped for an overland invasion of Ava: one under Brigadier-General Morrison, 11,000 strong, to start from Chittagong, cross the mountains between Arakan and Ava, and ultimately effect a junction with the army, from Rangoon; the other, under Colonel Smith, 7000 strong, to penetrate through Kachar and Menipar into the valley of the Ningti, a tributary of the Irawadi. The latter was baffled by the difficulties of the country, and, after spending two months in laborious efforts to cut a way through forests and bridge over watercourses, returned unsuccessful. The former began with a mutiny of the sepoys, which was sternly suppressed, and ended in the conquest of Arakan, the enemy nowhere attempting any serious opposition. But this conquest effected, the army was allowed to pine away in the unwholesome atmosphere of the capital, until one-fourth had perished and another fourth was in hospital. The remnants were at length withdrawn from the capital, and distributed among various stations on the coast, which had proved to be comparatively healthy.

Early in 1825 Sir Archibald Campbell resumed operations. Leaving a garrison in Rangoon,¹ he formed his small army into three columns: one of 2400 men, under his own command; another of 1200 men, under Brigadier-General Cotton; and a third of 600 men, under Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sale. The last-named ascended the Bassein to a town of the same name, which the Burmese set on fire and abandoned, whereupon it returned to Rangoon. The second ascended the Irawadi, and made a gallant but ineffectual attempt on the strongly fortified stockades of Donabeu, which proved to be armed with 140 guns, and defended by 12,000 of the best of the Burmese fighting men. After suffering terribly, the defeated column abandoned what was from the first a hopeless enterprise. Campbell, on being apprised of this disaster, hastened to the scene with all his forces, and, supported by a flotilla of gunboats, attacked the stockades, and compelled the enemy to abandon them on the 3rd of April. Resuming his march into the interior, he entered Prome on the 25th of April unopposed. Further hostilities followed, but the British repulsed the Burmese whenever they ventured to make a stand, and penetrated, by the middle of February 1826, to Yandabu, within sixty miles of Ava. Completely cowed, the Burmese court opened negotiations for peace, and concluded a treaty on the 26th, by which they ceded Arakan and the Tenasserim provinces to the British Government, and agreed to pay a crore of rupees, not only to defray the expenses of the war, but as a proof "of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the two nations." It was agreed that the money should be paid by four equal instalments: the first on the ratification of the treaty, which took place immediately, the second in a hundred days, the third at the end of a year, and the fourth at the end of two years. On the first payment being made the British army was to retire to Rangoon, and on the second to quit the Burmese territory. Each state was to receive an accredited

¹ *Rangoon*, lat. 16° 46' 40" N.; on the left bank of the river Hlaing, 21 miles from the sea; population, 134,176.

envoy from the other, and a commercial treaty on reciprocal principles was to be concluded.¹

For thirty-eight years Arakan and Tenasserim were administered under the Bengal Government, whose sway extended over Assam and across the Arakan and Pegu Yomas to the Sittaung and Salwin watershed, with the Irawadi delta, as yet unannexed, intervening between the two ranges. In 1853 we acquired Pegu and Martaban, and in 1862 the four provinces were welded into British Burma, with Sir Arthur Phayre as Chief Commissioner.

The Bhartpur Campaign.

The only other military movement of importance which distinguished Lord Amherst's period of government was the Bhartpur campaign.

As early as 1730 Bhartpur had acquired renown as a fortified place of great strength. It belonged to the Jats, whose Raja, Ranjit Singh, was one of the first princes of Northern Hindustan to ally himself with the British Government. When the Maratha war broke out in 1803, he concluded a treaty by which he agreed to furnish a contingent of cavalry, and this contingent proved very serviceable to Lord Lake at the battle of Laswari and throughout the Maratha war. He was rewarded for his assistance with a gift of territory yielding an annual revenue of seven lakhs. When hostilities were undertaken against Holkar, Ranjit Singh changed sides, and we have recorded how the cannon of Dig, when the beaten troops of the Indore chief took refuge beneath its walls, opened a destructive fire on the British pursuit, and how thereupon Lord Lake attacked Dig and captured it. We have also recorded Lake's investment of Bhartpur, how, after four desperate assaults, he was compelled to abandon the siege, and how, nevertheless, the Raja, alarmed at the tenacious courage of his adversaries, thought it wise to conclude peace while he was in the way with them, surrendering the fort, and agreeing to expel Holkar from his territories.

¹ In this ill-managed war we lost about 20,000 lives, chiefly from disease, and expended £14,000,000.

Ranjit Singh died in 1805, leaving four sons, of whom Randhir Singh, the eldest, ruled for eighteen years, and Baldeo Singh, the second, who succeeded him, eighteen months. Baldeo's son, Balwant Singh, the legitimate heir, was thrown into prison by his cousin, Durjan Sal, who seized the fortress and reigned as Raja. Sir David Ochterlony, our Resident at Delhi, immediately issued a proclamation to the Jats denouncing Durjan Sal as an usurper, calling upon them to support their rightful prince, and promising that he should be supported by a British force. Thereupon Durjan Sal, who was suspected of a design to murder the young Raja, declared that his only object was to act as regent during his minority, in compliance, he said, with the wishes of the whole tribe. This explanation did not satisfy Ochterlony; and as Durjan Sal would neither visit the British cantonments nor consign the youthful prince to British custody, the Resident assembled a considerable force, and was preparing to march upon Bhartpur, when the Governor-General prohibited his action in language which left Sir David no alternative but to resign. He retired to Meerut, where he died soon afterwards of grief and chagrin at the treatment he had received.¹ The Governor-General's harsh interference was based on a belief that the difficulty was one which admitted of peaceable settlement; but within a few weeks Durjan Sal's conduct proved that he aimed at nothing less than the Rajaship, and was prepared to resort to arms in support of his pretensions. Lord Amherst then sought the opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe, admittedly one of the ablest of Anglo-Indian diplomatists, and a pupil in the school of Lord Wellesley. From Delhi, where he had succeeded Ochterlony, Sir Charles wrote:—"We have by degrees become the Paramount State of India. Although we exercised the powers of this supremacy in many instances before 1817, we have used and asserted them more generally since the extension of our influence by the events of that and the following year. It then became an established principle of our policy to maintain tranquillity among all the states of India, and to prevent

¹ A monument was erected at Calcutta in recognition of Sir David's half-century of service, 'military' and political.

the anarchy and misrule which was likely to disturb the general peace. Sir John Malcolm's proceedings in Malwa were governed by this principle, as well as those of Sir David Ochterlony. In the case of succession to a principality, it seems clearly incumbent on us, with reference to that principle, to refuse to acknowledge any but the lawful successor, as otherwise we would throw the weight of our power into the scale of usurpation and injustice. Our influence is too pervading to permit of neutrality, and sufferance would operate as support." He added a consideration which doubtlessly had had its weight with Sir David Ochterlony—that, if forced to resort to arms, "a display and vigorous exercise of our power would be likely to bring back men's minds in that quarter to a proper tone; and the capture of Bhartpur, if effected in a glorious manner, would do us more honour throughout India, by the removal of the hitherto unfaded impressions caused by our former failure, than any other event that can be conceived."

This opinion was adopted by the Governor-General, who thereupon pushed forward military preparations with activity; and towards the close of the year Lord Combermere, then commander-in-chief, moved against Bhartpur at the head of an army of about 21,000 men, consisting of three European and sixteen sepoy regiments of infantry, two regiments of European and six of native cavalry, together with Skinner's irregular cavalry and strong detachments of artillery, horse and foot, and a battering train of upwards of one hundred heavy guns. It was calculated that the garrison of Bhartpur would in numerical strength be about equal to the besiegers. Marching in two columns from Agra and Madura respectively, the former under General Jasper Nicholls, the latter under General Thomas Reynell, the British army crossed the Bhartpur frontier on the 9th of December, the Madura column striking towards the north-west in order to seize the reservoir of the Moti Jhil, which supplied the moat with water. The enemy were thus deprived of one of their principal means of defence.

Bhartpur, with an area of about five miles in circuit, was surrounded by a broad deep fosse, from the inner edge of which rose a massive and lofty wall of sunburnt clay, flanked by

thirty-five bastions. It was dominated by the citadel, or, as the natives, proud of its supposed impregnability, loved to call it, "The Fort of Victory," which towered on its isolated hill high above the rest of the town, and was enclosed by a ditch 150 feet wide and 50 feet deep.

Notwithstanding the tremendous storm of shot and shell directed against them from forty-eight siege-guns and thirty-six mortars, the walls stood firm and solid, and though breaches were made in the hard tenacious clay, the engineers refused to declare them practicable. Lord Combermere, therefore, resorted to mining; and by the 8th of January four mines were sprung, which, though not producing all the effect desired and anticipated, wrought sufficient havoc to show that before long the process would be effectual. On the 11th and 12th the mines were carried under the moat and beneath the ramparts; and on the 16th a mine exploded beneath a bastion on the eastern side produced a great gap in the defences. The assault was fixed for the 28th, and was preceded by the explosion of another mine, charged with a ton of gunpowder, which shattered the ramparts near and far. The storming party rushed forward in two columns, and after a sharp struggle beat down the attempted resistance and hoisted the British flag. Thus, with a loss of 600 men, Lord Combermere gained the proud "City of Victory." The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was returned at 14,000. Among the prisoners was Durjan Sal, with his wife and two sons, who was straightway dispatched as a state-prisoner to Allahabad. On the 19th Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe marched into the fortress, and on the following day they solemnly installed the young Raja on the throne. The fortifications were afterwards demolished, in order that the "City of Victory" might not at any future time serve as a rallying-point for the disaffected.

Peace having been restored throughout our Indian dominions, the Governor-General, who had announced his intention of resigning his high office, set out, early in August 1826, on a tour through the Upper Provinces. At Cawnpur, he was

visited by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and to return the visit he proceeded to Lucknow. At Agra his durbar was attended by the Malwa princes, and envoys from Holkar and Sindhia. Thence he repaired to Bhartpur, and afterwards to Delhi, where the humiliated king vainly endeavoured to place the Governor-General in the position of a vassal, and would fain have extorted homage from him. After receiving embassies from the Rajput states, he went on northward to Simla,¹ which thus for the first time became the temporary residence of an Indian Governor-General. While at this beautiful mountain-retreat, he received intelligence of the outbreak of war between Persia and Russia, to which we allude because our Indian statesmen had already begun to watch with apprehension the progress of the Muscovite arms, their encroachments upon Persia, and their advance in Central Asia, as menacing a future danger to the peace and security of the empire.

Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835.

Lord William Bentinck, who, twenty years before, had been the Governor of Madras, was appointed Governor-General in succession to Earl Amherst. His warmest admirers will not claim for him the gift of genius—the power of conceiving great ideas and realising them in great schemes of policy—the faculty of ruling men or founding empires, but they will justify their attachment to his memory and their gratitude for his services by pointing to his calm and clear judgment, his sagacity, his patience, his broad and generous sympathy—the distinctive characteristic of his administration was that it was sympathetic—and to the important social reforms he accomplished. “His seven years’ rule,” says the historian, “is not signalised by any of those victories or extensions of territory by which chroniclers measure the growth of an empire; but it forms an epoch in administrative reform, and in the benign process by which a subject population is won over to venerate as well as to dread its alien rulers. The modern history of the British in India, as benevolent administrators, ruling the country with an eye to the good of the natives, may be said

¹ *Simla*, lat. 31° 6', long. 77° 14'; 1097 miles from Calcutta.

to begin with Lord William Bentinck." As Lord Macaulay, who served under him, says, in the inscription on his statue at Calcutta :—"He abolished cruel rites ; he effaced humiliating distinctions ; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion ; his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge." He is, therefore, as justly entitled to be ranked among the makers of the Empire as the most brilliant of his predecessors. These indeed earned a larger fame as statesmen, diplomatists, soldiers ; but it was Bentinck's great and enduring distinction that, if he did little in the way of extending our dominions, he did much in the way of rendering happier the races who inhabited them.

Lord William Cavendish Bentinck sailed from England in February 1828, and arrived at Calcutta in the following July. The first question which engaged his attention was the financial position, and the restoration of an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure. The measures he adopted for this purpose were of three kinds : first, reductions in the expenditure on the army and the civil service, amounting in the aggregate to a million and a half per annum ; second, the removal of the exemption from assessment which many lands had improperly and surreptitiously obtained ; and third, the imposition of a transit duty on the opium cultivated in Malwa and sent to Bombay for sale or export.

Adopting the suggestions of many distinguished public servants, he enlarged the sphere of jurisdiction of the native judges in the civil courts, improved their position, and rendered it easier for natives to obtain justice.

Every schoolboy, to use Lord Macaulay's famous phrase, has read of the Indian custom of *sati* (suttee) or widow-burning ; a custom instituted by the Brahmans for sacerdotal reasons, but nowhere enjoined in the sacred books of the Rig-Veda. Indeed, the text which the Brahmans put forward as enjoining this odious practice, which led every year to a terrible sacrifice of life, has a directly opposite meaning. "Rise, woman," says the Rig-Veda to the mourner, "come to the world of life, come to us. Thou hast fulfilled thy wifely duties

to thy husband." The Court of Directors had long desired its abolition, and in 1824 had put on record their conviction that it might with safety be prohibited; but many of the highest Indian authorities were of a different opinion, though the real question for consideration was not one of comparative safety or danger, but what was the duty incumbent upon English gentlemen and Christians.¹ In this light, however, it had not been looked at by Lord Amherst, who, while admitting that nothing but the apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from its existence should induce us to tolerate it for a single day, could offer no other recommendation than that we should trust to the progress the natives were making in the acquisition of knowledge for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition. Happily, Lord William Bentinck was made of sterner stuff, and on the 4th of December 1829 issued, with the consent of his Council, a regulation to the effect that "all persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindu widow, by burning or burying her alive, whether the sacrifice be voluntary on her part or not, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and shall be liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment, or by both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court of circuit, according to the nature and circumstances of the case and the degree of guilt established against the offender; nor shall it be held to be any justification that he or she was desired by the party sacrificed to assist in putting her to death." That none of the apprehended dangers followed this enactment does not impair the credit due to Lord William Bentinck for his courageous humanity. There was a certain degree of opposition, but it may safely be said that the people at large rejoiced in the abolition of a cruel rite, and revered the ruler who had effected it.

Another equitable measure due to the sympathetic sagacity of Lord William Bentinck was the restoration of the rights of succession enjoyed by Hindus and Muhammadans to Christian converts. To him also, in conjunction with Colonel Sleeman,

¹ In the year 1817, 700 widows were burned alive, it is said, in the Bengal Presidency alone, sometimes under circumstances of the greatest horror.

India owed the suppression of the Thugs or hereditary assassins, who made strangling a profession. These men, bound together by an oath based on the rites of the sanguinary goddess Kali, and trained from childhood in the cruel practice, traversed the country in bands, disguised as merchants or pilgrims, in which capacity they easily surprised or beguiled their victims, whom they dexterously strangled and robbed, hiding their dead bodies in the nearest thicket. Between 1826 and 1835 no fewer than 1562 Thugs were arrested and punished; and through the evidence furnished by approvers, the different gangs or brotherhoods were hunted down and extirpated.

It may here be recorded as a memorable event, though in no way due to the Governor-General's individual initiative, that during the period of his administration steam was first applied to expedite the communication between Europe and India. A steamer, the *Enterprise*, sailed from Falmouth on August 16, 1825, but did not arrive in the Hugli until December 7th. Evidently a shorter route was indispensable, and the ancient *via* across the Isthmus of Suez and by the Red Sea was preferred. The first steam-voyage by this route was accomplished by the *Hugh Lindsay*, which quitted Bombay on March 20, 1830, and arrived at Suez on April 22, that is, in thirty-two days. In her next voyage she reduced the time to twenty-two days.

In 1833 the charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years; but the Act of Parliament which conceded this renewal largely increased the powers of the Board of Control, and compelled the Company to abandon its trading operations, and to permit Europeans other than its servants to settle in India for commercial purposes. At the same time Parliament guaranteed to the Company a yearly dividend of ten guineas per cent. on their capital, and the Directors retained their extensive rights of patronage. Some changes were introduced into the framework of the Indian government. Bengal was divided into two Presidencies, the one styled, as before, the Presidency of Fort William, and the other the Presidency of Agra. Further, "the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government" was vested in

“a Governor-General and councillors, to be styled the Governor-General of India in Council.” The ordinary councillors were to be four in number, of whom one was to be a law-member, approved by the crown, and selected from persons not in the Company’s service. The first four members under the Act were William Blunt, Alexander Ross, William Hyam Martin, and Thomas Babington Macaulay (as law-member). The last-named was appointed head of a Commission for revising and codifying the law. The Act received the royal assent on August 28, and was entitled, “An Act for Effecting an Arrangement with the East India Company, and for the better Government of His Majesty’s Indian Territories, till the 30th day of April 1854” (3 and 4 William IV., c. 85).

The only other events of importance during Lord William Bentinck’s term of office may be dismissed in a few words. In 1831 the misgovernment prevailing in the state of Mysore compelled us to take it under our direct administration, and this arrangement endured until 1881, when the native rule was restored. In 1834 it was found necessary to interfere in Coorg, a state which lies along the mountain-chain of the Western Ghats, and is separated from Mysore by the rivers Kuma-radhari and Hamavati on the north, and the Kaveri on the east, where the Raja was guilty of acts of the most sanguinary tyranny. The remonstrances of the British Resident at Mysore were treated with contemptuous indifference; and at length, in 1834, the misdeeds of Vira Rajendra reached such a climax that Lord William Bentinck resolved on his chastisement. An army of 6000 men, under Colonel Lindsay, invaded Coorg in four divisions. Though two of these were gallantly and successfully opposed by the Raja’s forces, the others penetrated to Merkara,¹ and rapidly accomplished the subjugation of the whole country. The Raja surrendered himself to the political agent, Colonel Fraser, who, in a proclamation dated May 7, 1834, announced that, in compliance with the unanimous wish of the inhabitants, Coorg would be transferred to the government of the Company, and it has ever

¹ *Merkara*, lat. 12° 26' 50" N.; 155 miles S.W. of Bangalore; population, 8383.

since been attached to the Presidency of Madras. The Raja, to whom was assigned an annual income of £7200, was allowed in 1852 to visit England, where he died in 1862. His daughter, the Princess Victoria Gauramma, was baptized into the Christian faith, with the Queen for her godmother. She married an English officer, and died two years after her father.

Broken down by ill-health, Lord William Bentinck resigned office, and sailed for Europe on the 20th of March 1835. He was succeeded provisionally by the senior member of Council, Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, who carried into execution the measure initiated by his predecessor for conceding the absolute liberty of the press. In this bold and liberal proceeding he was supported by the majority of his Council, including Macaulay, but it did not command the approval of the home authorities, and a misunderstanding arose which led him to retire from the Company's service. He sailed for England on February 15, 1838. His after services as Governor of Jamaica and Governor-General of Canada, in which offices he furnished abundant proofs of able and enlightened statesmanship, enabled the public to estimate how great a loss to India had been involved in the ungenerous treatment he had received; and when the British name was tarnished and the prestige of the British arms impaired by the disastrous campaign in Afghanistan, deep and wide-spread was the regret that an Auckland and not a Metcalfe presided in the Council-chamber at Calcutta.

There had been an intention on the part of the Directors to confirm Sir Charles Metcalfe in the Governor-Generalship, but it was not persevered with, and the post was offered to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, by whom it was declined on the score of ill-health. It was then offered to and accepted by Lord Heytesbury; but before he could take his departure, the Tory Ministry which had sanctioned it were compelled to resign; and the Whig Ministry, on taking office, indisposed to lose so valuable a piece of patronage, recalled Lord Heytesbury's appointment, and substituted Lord Auckland.



CHAPTER VII.

A TALE OF DISASTER, 1836-1842.

The First Afghan War.

LORD AUCKLAND arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd of March 1836. For the first few months of his rule the blessings of peace rested upon the empire, and it was believed that, undisturbed by external enemies or internal complications, the prosperity and well-being of its two hundred millions of inhabitants would be his single or at least his dominant care ; but whether of his own motion, or, as is more probable, instigated by Indian officials of the "forward" school, whose *bête noire* was Russia, and their cardinal principle of statesmanship the necessity of counteracting what they conceived to be Russia's designs upon India, he threw himself into a policy of intervention and aggression which ended in a needless, a costly, and an inglorious war.

Afghanistan is the name applied, originally in Persian, to the mountainous country between North-Western India and Eastern Persia, of which the Afghans are the most numerous and important, though not the only inhabitants. It forms a great quadrilateral tract, extending from 30° to 36° north latitude, and from about 61° to 71° east longitude ; that is, about 450 miles from north to south, and 750 miles from east to west. Its general elevation above the sea exceeds 4000 feet, while many regions are upwards of 7000 feet. Roughly speaking, it is bounded on the north by the colossal range of the Hindu Kush ; on the east by the spurs of the Sulei-

man mountains and the Indus ; on the south by Baluchistan ; and on the west by the rugged highlands of the Persian Khorassan and the river Oxus. The mountain-barrier which separates it from our Indian Empire is penetrated by three passes, the Bolan, the Khaibar, and the Kuram.

The Afghan population is divided, according to Dr. Bellew, into twelve great clans or families, with numerous subdivisions, namely, the Duranis, the Ghilzais (the strongest and bravest), the Jusufzais, and the Kakais—these four are the most important ; the Khugianis, the Mohmandzais, the Khataks, the Utman Khel, the Bangash, the Afridis, the Orakzais, and the Shinwaris. Of the non-Afghan races we may name the Tajiks, the Kizilbashis or “Red Heads,” and the Hazaras. The Afghans proper are estimated at 2,500,000, the non-Afghans at 2,400,000.

“The pastoral and agricultural stages of human development may still be seen side by side in Afghanistan. The nomad tribes roam through the wide plains of Khorasan ; the agricultural sections are settled in village communities. As a race, the Afghans are very handsome and athletic, often with fair complexion, a flowing beard, generally black or brown, though sometimes red ; the features highly aquiline. The hair is shaved off from the forehead to the top of the head, the remainder at the sides being allowed to fall in large curls over the shoulders. Their step is full of resolution, their bearing proud and apt to be rough. They are passionately fond of hawking and hunting. The women have handsome features of Jewish cast (the last trait often true also of the men), fair complexions, sometimes rosy, though usually a pale sallow ; hair braided and plaited behind in two long tresses, terminating in silken tassels. They are rigidly secluded, but intrigue is frequent.

“The Afghans, inured to bloodshed from childhood, are familiar with death, audacious in attack, but easily discouraged by failure ; excessively turbulent, and unsubmissive to law or discipline ; apparently frank and affable in manner, especially when they hope to gain some object, but capable of the grossest brutality when that hope ceases. They are

unscrupulous in perjury, treacherous, vain, and insatiable; passionate in revenge, which they will satisfy in the most cruel manner, even at the cost of their own lives. Nowhere is crime committed on such trifling grounds or with such general impunity, though, when it is punished, the punishment is atrocious. 'Nothing,' says Sir Herbert Edwardes, 'is finer than their physique or worse than their morals.'" And this seems to be the general opinion of the most competent authorities, though it is true that Mountstuart Elphinstone touches his sketch with lighter colours.

According to an old Eastern proverb, "No one can be king of India without first being lord of Kabul." The British had, however, firmly planted themselves in India as the Paramount Power, before Lord Auckland's evil fortune persuaded him to intervene in the affairs of Afghanistan, and seek a predominant influence in the Kabul court.

In 1747 Afghanistan, for the first time since the days of the Sultans of Ghazni and Ghor, had obtained a national ruler in Ahmad Shah Durani, a resolute and capable soldier, who extended his dominion from Herat to Peshawar, and from Kashmir to Sind. His successors of the same family begat many children, so that the Afghan throne was the object of incessant contention, until, in 1826, Dost Muhammad, head of the Barakzais, seated himself firmly at Kabul¹ with the title of Amir, while two brothers, survivors of the Durani dynasty, escaped into British India, and, under British protection, resided at Ludhiana, on the Punjab frontier.

The attention of our Governors-General had early been directed to the savage and warlike people who dwelt among the mountains on our north-west frontier. As early as 1809, during the brief alliance between Napoleon and Alexander of Russia, when the Indian Government apprehended a combined French and Russian invasion, Metcalfe was dispatched to Peshawar and Elphinstone to Kabul to negotiate alliances offensive and defensive. But it was not until 1836 that our statesmen actively interfered in the internal affairs of Afghani-

¹ *Kabul*, lat. 34° 30' N.; 94 miles from Jalalabad, 175 miles from Peshawar, 687 miles from Herat; population, about 150,000.

stan. At that period Persia, in secret alliance with the White Czar, was making preparations for the siege of Herat, the gate of India, and for an advance upon Ghazni and Kandahar. If the Shah succeeded in his campaign, his frontier would be brought so near to our own that the Punjab alone would intervene between the two. It is true that Persia was no very formidable enemy, and that its vicinity need cause us no particular anxiety, unless, as was suspected, the Czar was using it as a pawn of his own upon the political chessboard. The courageous persistency of the inhabitants of Herat, under the direction of a gallant young British officer, Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Eldred) Pottinger, warding off the immediate danger by repulsing the Persian attack ; but the fear of Russia had by this time so infected our Indian authorities, that Lord Auckland resolved to secure a subservient ally at Kabul. Dost Muhammad, on his part, was bent on recovering Peshawar from the Sikhs, and was willing to promise anything and everything if he secured the great object of his ambition.

He consented, therefore, to receive a mission from the Indian Government, the ostensible purpose of which was "to work out the policy of the Government of opening the river Indus to commerce, and establishing on its banks and in the countries beyond it such relations as should contribute to the desired end." At the head of it was placed Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes, a young officer of exceptional force of character, who was well acquainted with Central Asia, and had visited Kabul in 1832. He arrived at the Amir's capital on September 20, 1837. "We were received," he wrote, "with great pomp and splendour by a fine body of Afghan cavalry, led by the Amir's son, Akbar Khan. He did me the honour to place me upon the same elephant on which he himself rode, and conducted us to his father's court, whose reception of us was most cordial. A spacious garden close to the palace and inside the Bala Hissar (or citadel) of Kabul was allotted to the mission as their place of residence. On the 21st we were admitted to a formal audience by Amir Dost Muhammad, and I then delivered to him my credentials from the Governor-General of India. His reception of them was

all that could be desired. I informed him that I had brought with me, as presents to his Highness, some of the rarities of Europe; he promptly replied that we ourselves were the rarities the sight of which best pleased him."

But when courtesy gave place to business, the envoy and the Amir did not get on so well together. Dost Muhammad wanted something more solid than friendly assurances and proposals for commercial intercourse; and when Burnes informed him that his Government could entertain no proposal with respect to Peshawar, he began to think of a Russian alliance, and opened communications with a Russian envoy who had just found his way to Kabul. Barnes immediately apprised Lord Auckland of the Amir's change of front, and urged upon him to take immediate action if he desired England rather than Russia to be dominant at the Afghan court. But Lord Auckland would not consent to offer him armed support, nor hold out to him any hope of his regaining Peshawar. On the other hand, he was peremptorily ordered to seek a reconciliation with the Maharaja at Lahore, who was declared to be the firm and ancient ally of the British, and informed that he must receive no agents from other Powers or have aught to do with them unless with the consent of the Governor-General. After some weeks of diplomatic trifling the mission received a courteous dismissal. Burnes took leave of the Amir on the 25th of April, and on the 30th reached Jalalabad.¹

Lord Auckland and his advisers now conceived the extraordinary idea of restoring to the throne of Kabul the old Durani dynasty in the person of Shah Shuja, one of the two exiles residing under British protection at Ludhiana. As they desired the co-operation of the Sikhs in their aggressive project, Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Macnaghten, then Resident at Lahore, was instructed to open negotiations with Ranjit Singh, and, after considerable delay, obtained his promise of support, on condition that Shah Shuja, if he recovered his throne, should pay him an annual subsidy of two lakhs of

¹ *Jalalabad*, lat. 34° 24' N.; 91 miles from Peshawar, 100 miles from Kabul; 1946 feet above sea-level.

rupees. Mr. Macnaghten then repaired to Ludhiana, where Shah Shuja's consent to the so-called "Tripartite Treaty" was easily obtained. Military preparations immediately began. At first, in order to conciliate Afghan feeling, which is intensely adverse to foreign intervention, strenuous efforts were made to raise a native army; but when this proved a failure, Lord Auckland was driven to the fatal step of employing British troops. In this way were the fame and name of Great Britain committed to an enterprise which was not less opposed to the laws of morality than to the dictates of rational policy. Yet objectionable as it was, and dangerous as might be its consequences, it was sanctioned by Sir John Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control, without having been referred to the Court of Directors. The most competent Indian authorities, however, were known to regard it with anxiety and even alarm,¹ and the native princes most friendly to our interests condemned it strongly. The Khan of Kelat (the ruler of Baluchistan) expressed his opinion to Burnes that the British Government had embarked on an undertaking of vast magnitude and difficult accomplishment. Instead of relying upon the Afghan nation, he said, they had cast them aside, and preferred to inundate the country with foreign troops; the chief of Kabul, Dost Muhammad, he added, was a man of ability and resource, and though the British could easily put him down and elevate Shah Shuja, they should never by such a course win over the Afghan people.

On October 1, at Simla, Lord Auckland issued a manifesto in justification of his contemplated action. It alleged that the forces of Dost Muhammad had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Ranjit Singh; that he had put forward extravagant and unfounded charges against the Sikhs, and avowed "schemes of aggrandisement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India;" and that he "openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in any foreign aid which he could command," until it was evident that "so long as Kabul remained under

¹ It was censured also by the Duke of Wellington and Mountstuart Elphinstone.

his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian Empire would be preserved inviolate ;” and lastly, that he had allied himself with the Shah of Persia, of whose hostility we had had such recent proof. These allegations, it is sad to say, were either contrary to the truth or very highly coloured. Lord Auckland added that the order for assembling the army of the Indus was issued with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, though, as a matter of fact, the Supreme Council had never been consulted.

To the Governor-General’s proclamation was appended a list of appointments, of which it is necessary, in connection with later events, to particularise two: Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Macnaghten, as envoy and minister on the part of the Government of India at the court of Shah Shuja, and Captain. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes, to be employed, under Macnaghten’s directions, as envoy to the Khan of Khelat or other states. As the latter took umbrage at this subordinate position, when he had expected to play the part of political chief, he was finally given to understand that, after seating Shah Shuja on his throne, Macnaghten would return to Calcutta, and would be succeeded by Burnes at Kabul.

The Advance upon Kabul, 1839.

Late in the year 1838 the Bengal column of the “Army of the Indus” assembled at Firozpur, on the banks of the Satlaj, where it was paraded before the Governor-General and Ranjit Singh, who enlivened their grave political conferences by “showy pageants, gay doings, and feats of mimic war.” On the 10th of December it began the advance. Its strength consisted of 9500 men of all arms, and it was accompanied by 38,000 camp-followers and 30,000 camels. The command was given to Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton. The expedition also included Shah Shuja’s army, as it was called, though its 6000 men were officered by the Company’s officers and paid from the Company’s treasury; and the Bombay force of 5000 under Sir John Keane, who was intrusted with the command-in-chief. Thus the total of effective fighting men

was about 21,000. There was a Sikh force of 6000 men, with a small British detachment, under Colonel Wade, which advanced through the Khaibar Pass.

As Ranjit Singh refused to allow the passage through his dominions of the "Army of the Indus," a more circuitous route had to be adopted, and the British had to descend the Indus a thousand miles to Bukkur, and thence by way of Kandahar strike northward to the Afghan capital. Accordingly, in flagrant violation of a treaty concluded in 1832 with the Mirs of Sind, which prohibited the conveyance of troops and military stores by the Indus or through the province, the Bengal column marched across Upper Sind, while Sir John Keane, who had landed at Karachi¹ with the Bombay contingent, moved up from the south. The approach of so powerful a force towards Haidarabad was dexterously made the means of obtaining from the Mirs of Sind the cession of the port of Bukkur²—a proceeding which sowed the seeds of future hostility—and of extorting a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees, ostensibly as tribute-money to Shah Shuja, and of fining them in an annual payment of three lakhs for the support of a British contingent to be stationed in Lower Sind. The annals of British diplomacy happily contain few, if any, chapters so disgraceful as that which, to our shame, records our unjust and arbitrary dealing with the unfortunate Mirs.

Having crossed the Indus at Bukkur, Sir Willoughby Cotton effected a junction with Sir John Keane on the 21st of February 1839. The latter, however, continued to toil up the right bank of the Indus, with a flotilla of boats conveying his supplies, while Cotton, with the Bengal column, crossed the sands of Cutch Gandara, a wilderness 150 miles in extent. It was a terrible march; stricken by the excessive heat, the soldiers fell away in scores, while hundreds of cattle perished for want of water and pasture; and the Baluchi marauders

¹ *Karachi*, lat. $24^{\circ} 51' 9''$ N.; at the north end of the delta of the Indus; population, 73,560.

² *Bukkur*, lat. $27^{\circ} 42'$ N.; fortified island in the Indus, opposite Sukkur and Rohri; an oval rock of limestone, 800 yards by 300, and about 25 feet high.

were always on the watch for pillage. Water and grain were found at Bhaj, and thence the journey to Daeur was accomplished with comparative ease.

On the 6th of March Sir John Keane formally assumed the command. The Bengal column then began its laborious march through the Bolan Pass, a gorge in the Brahui Mountains, 60 miles in length. Its total elevation is about 5800 feet, and it rises by an average ascent of 90 feet in the mile. At two points it narrows very considerably, and could be held against largely superior numbers by a very small force of resolute men. No opposition was offered, however, to the passage of the British, who traversed it in six days, emerging on March the 24th into the valley of Shawb, and three days afterwards encamping in the immediate neighbourhood of Quetta.¹ Here Sir John Keane arrived on the 6th of April, and next day the army resumed its march, a brigade being left behind at Quetta under General Nott. It threaded without resistance the difficult defile of the Kajuk, and before its steady advance the Barakzai chiefs took to flight, and on the 25th of April Shah Shuja entered Kandahar.² A few shouts of welcome were heard, and some persons, hired perhaps for the purpose, threw flowers in his path; and mistaking the natural curiosity of the populace for a higher emotion, Macnaghten effusively informed the Governor-General that the new Amir had been received with "feelings nearly amounting to adoration."

On the 4th of May the Bombay column came up, and the whole army of the Indus encamped under the walls of Kandahar. Some weeks were spent in parades and pageants, which made Shah Shuja³—to use his own words—"feel himself a king indeed;" so that it was not until the 24th of June—the day on which Ranjit Singh, the old lion of the Sikhs, expired at Lahore—that, to the sound of drum and cymbal,

¹ *Quetta*, in Baluchistan, occupied by the British in 1876; connected with the Indian railway system by the Bolan and the Sind-Pishin railways.

² *Kandahar*, lat. 31° 37' N.; between the rivers Argandab and Tamak; 233 miles from Ghazni and 328 from Kabul; population, 50,000 (?).

³ He was crowned in the mosque of Ahmad Shah on the 8th of May.

the splendid array moved forward.¹ In its line of march rose the great fortress of Ghazni,² which, like most other fortresses, had the reputation of impregnability, and was, in very truth, surrounded with defensive works of a formidable character. On the 21st of July the British troops encamped in front of it. They saw before them "a high rampart in good repair, built on a scarped mound about 35 feet high, flanked by numerous towers, and surrounded by a *fausse braie* and a wet ditch. The irregular figure of the *enceinte* gave a good flanking fire, whilst the height of the citadel covered the interior from the commanding fire of the hills to the north, rendering it nugatory. In addition to this, the towers at the angles had been enlarged; screen walls had been built before the gates, the ditch cleared out and filled with water (stated to be unfordable), and an outwork built on the right bank of the river so as to command the bed of it." Yet for the attack of this formidable fortress the British were unprovided with any battering-train; while the great elevation of the parapet above the plain, not less than 60 or 70 feet, and the wet ditch, were insurmountable obstacles to an assault by mining or escalading. What was to be done? Retreat would be so disastrous that any other alternative, however desperate, would eagerly be welcomed. Fortunately, from a nephew of Dost Muhammad a large bribe obtained much valuable information; and the engineers reported to Sir John Keane that an attack was possible by the Kabul gate. The road up to the gate was clear; the bridge which carried it over the ditch was unbroken; good positions for the artillery were available within 350 yards on both sides of the road; and the gateway was the only one which the besieged had not blocked up, as they were awaiting reinforcements from Kabul.

At midnight on the 22nd the blow was delivered. While the British guns were hammering away at the enemy's works, a party of eighteen privates, three sergeants, and three officers crept forward, laid 300 lbs. of gunpowder before the gate, fired

¹ A strong garrison was left at Kandahar, of which in November General Nott arrived to take the command.

² *Ghazni*, lat. 33° 34' N., long. 68° 19' E.; 85 miles S.W. of Kabul; 233 miles N.E. of Kandahar.

the train, and retreated under cover, just in time to escape the effects of the explosion, which shattered the gate into a heap of ruins. The stormers, under Colonel Downie, gallantly dashed through the breach and over the fallen masonry and woodwork, and, surprising the garrison, broke through without much difficulty, cheering lustily. The main column was hurrying up under Brigadier Sale, when one of the engineer officers, shaken and confused by the explosion, from which he had not sheltered himself sufficiently, informed the commander that the gateway was so blocked up with *débris* that the storming party had been unable to enter. The brigadier sounded a retreat, and a brief but dangerous delay took place, giving the garrison time to recover and rally before the mistake was rectified. "Forward!" was then the cry, and soon the British soldiers were face to face with their resolute adversaries. Brigadier Sale, in the desperate *mêlée*, had a narrow escape; for one of the Afghans, leaping over the fallen timbers, brought him down by a cut in the face with his sharp sabre. As Sale was falling, the Afghan repeated the blow; but this time it was the pummel, and not the edge of the blade which took effect, though with stunning violence. In the effort, however, he lost his footing, and Englishman and Afghan rolled together among the ruins. Thus situated, the Brigadier's first care was to master his assailant's weapon. He snatched at it, but one of his fingers met the trenchant steel. Quickly withdrawing his wounded hand, he replaced it adroitly over that of his enemy, so as to hold fast the hilt of his sword. But he was faint from loss of blood, and the Afghan was active and powerful. Fortunately, the current of the fierce affray brought Captain Kershaw of the 13th within reach. To him the Brigadier called for help. Kershaw replied by running his sword through the Afghan's body, but still the brave fellow continued to struggle with frantic vehemence. At length, by desperate exertion, the Brigadier got uppermost; and, firmly retaining his enemy's weapon in his left hand, dealt him with his right a stroke from his own sword which cleft the skull from the crown to the eyebrows. The Muhammadan gasped out "Ne Ullah!" (O God!), and never moved or spoke again.

The capture of Ghazni, which was effected with the loss of 17 men killed and 165 wounded, while the loss of the enemy exceeded 600 slain and 1600 taken prisoners, produced a deep impression on the mind of the Afghans. Dost Muhammad had calculated that the siege of his great fortress would occupy the invaders for months, and its speedy fall reduced him to despair. With the Kuran in his hands, he made a strong appeal to his officers. "For thirteen years," he said, "you have eaten my salt ; grant me but one favour in return. Stand by the brother of Fattah Khan while he hazards a last charge against these Feringhi dogs. In the onset he will fall, and you can then make your own terms with Shah Shuja." By this time a British column had advanced through the Khaibar Pass, and as Kabul was thus threatened with attack from two directions, he parked his artillery at Argandeh, abandoned Kabul, and on the 2nd of August fled towards the Hindu Kush. Information of his flight having been conveyed to Sir John Keane, he dispatched, on the following day, Captain (afterwards Sir James) Outram with 250 British cavalry and 550 Afghan horse, under Haji Khan Kakur, in pursuit. But as Haji Khan had formerly betrayed his sovereign, so was he now prepared to betray the British. By interposing delays he contrived to baffle the pursuers in their design, and they returned to Kabul without their expected prisoner.

On the 7th of August Shah Shuja, blazing with jewels, and surrounded by all the pomp of royalty, made his public entrance into Kabul, and proceeded to the Bala Hissar. "An ocean of heads was spread out in every direction," and though there was no enthusiasm, "the expression of countenances indicated a ready acquiescence, or something more, in the new state of things." On entering the palace, the Shah ran up the great staircase, and hastened from apartment to apartment with almost boyish eagerness. For some time peace prevailed at Kabul, but by degrees it was discovered that the Afghans showed no disposition to accept their new ruler, and that they secretly hated and despised him as the nominee of a foreign power. Mr. Macnaghten was compelled to inform the Governor-General that, as British bayonets had placed Shah Shuja





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on the throne, British bayonets alone could keep him there. With great reluctance the Calcutta Government came to the conclusion that "the army of the Indus," or at least the greater portion of it, must be converted into an army of occupation.

The Bombay column, under General Willshire, marched out of Kabul on the 18th of September, and *en route* paid a hostile visit to Meihrab Khan, the ruler of Khelat, who was accused of neglecting to furnish supplies to the British army and failing to suppress the marauding parties of Baluchis. He replied that he had done his best to fulfil both conditions, but had been prevented by the state of the country. The excuse was not without foundation, but it was desired to strike terror by a forcible example, and Willshire on the 13th of November attacked and captured Khelat, after a fierce hand-to-hand encounter, in which the unfortunate prince and 400 of his troops were slain.

Leaving in Kabul a force of all arms of about 7000 men, with garrisons at Ghazni, Jalalabad, and Kandahar, Sir John Keane returned with the remainder of the Bengal division on the 15th of October, marching by way of the Khaibar Pass, and crossing the Indus at Attock. The success of the expedition was duly acknowledged by the Home Government. The Governor-General received an earldom, the commander-in-chief was made Baron Keane of Ghazni, the envoy at Kabul became Sir William Macnaghten, and the Resident Sir Alexander Burnes. Both Houses of Parliament recorded their thanks to the army. Everything was looked at through rose-coloured glasses, and Lord Auckland and his advisers plumed themselves on the auspicious close of the "great game" by which they had placed a puppet ruler on the throne of Kabul and checkmated the ambitious projects of the White Czar. Meanwhile there were troubles at Kandahar and troubles in Kabul, where Sir William Macnaghten owned that his position was anything but "a bed of roses," and Sir Alexander Burnes was predicting all kinds of disasters unless the Governor-General acted with energy and defeated the schemes of France and Russia; there were troubles all over Afghanistan, and it soon became evident that Shah Shuja's authority was acknowledged only within the narrow limits of territory occupied by the British army.

For two years, however, Shah Shuja and his allies continued in possession of Kabul and Kandahar, and the British outposts extended to Saighan in the Oxus basin, and as far as Mulla Khan on the Lower Helmund. Dost Muhammad was taken prisoner under the following circumstances. Sir Robert Sale, hunting him down with pertinacious energy, had overtaken him on the 2nd of November in the valley of Purwan. The Dost began to withdraw to some higher ground in the rear, when the 2nd native cavalry rode down to outflank him. Like a tiger at bay, he turned on his pursuers. Baring his head, and raising himself in his stirrups, he called on his faithful followers, in the name of Allah and His prophet, to assist him in driving the accursed infidels from the land of the true believers. So desperate was his onset that the native troopers broke like reeds before a storm, and fled at full gallop, leaving their European officers to perish sword in hand. Sir Alexander Burnes, who had accompanied Sale, anticipating a general rising, wrote hastily to Macnaghten advising an immediate concentration of the troops in Kabul. Sir William, however, did not receive the dispatch until the following afternoon, when he was enjoying his daily ride, and he had scarcely finished reading it before a horseman, stained with dust, galloped up, exclaiming, "The Amir is at hand!" "What Amir?" "Dost Muhammad Khan!" And almost immediately afterwards up rode the Amir, with an escort of cavalry, and dismounting, placed his sword in the envoy's hands and solicited his protection. He had felt, he said, even in the hour of victory, that it would be impossible for him to prolong the struggle. He had met his enemies in the open field and defeated them, and the time had arrived when without loss of dignity he could claim their consideration. Sir William received him with the courtesy due to so distinguished an adversary, handed him back his sword, and having requested him to remount, they rode off to the British cantonments. Eventually he was removed to the fort of Kamal in the Punjab, where for about six months he was detained as a state prisoner, preparatory to his residence at Calcutta (1840). The Governor-General ultimately assigned to him a pension of two lakhs of rupees.

No doubt the British Government thought that, with Shah Shuja enthroned at Kabul and Dost Muhammad a prisoner in Calcutta, the new order of things would be established firmly in Afghanistan; but at no time was it accepted by the Afghans, and over the whole country violence and anarchy prevailed. Yet Sir William Macnaghten, with the usual optimism of officials, informed the Governor-General that everything was going on smoothly. "We shall now have a little time," he wrote to a friend on the 24th of November, "to devote to the affairs of the country, and I trust its condition will soon be as flourishing as its poor resources will admit." Sir Willoughby Cotton, who desired to return to India, thought the period had arrived when he could honourably resign his command, and the Governor-General found him a successor, not in General Nott, whose brilliant services and proved competency entitled him to the promotion, but in General Elphinstone, a respectable officer of high character, who, however, had had no experience in war, and was enfeebled by years and disease. It is but fair to him to state that he soon became conscious of his unfitness to cope with the growing difficulties of his position, and forwarded his resignation, waiting anxiously the arrival of General Nott, who, as senior officer, would necessarily assume the command. But while he waited the storm burst. Sir William Macnaghten was waiting also. He had been appointed Governor of Bombay, and was much irritated by various incidents which delayed his departure. And Sir Alexander Burnes was waiting; for on Macnaghten's quitting the field, his ambition was to be gratified by his assumption of the joint duties of envoy and Resident. These three high officials were all in an expectant attitude when a league that had secretly been formed for the expulsion of the British completed its plans and raised the whole country to wreak vengeance on the invaders. Warnings of the impending peril were communicated both to Macnaghten and Burnes, but each had his own reasons for disregarding them. Mohun Lal, a Kashmir youth, who had received an English education and was Burnes's faithful assistant, saw him on the 1st of November, and apprised him "that the confederacy had grown very high, and we should face the consequences." Yet,

on the evening of the same day, Burnes called on Macnaghten and congratulated him on the tranquil condition in which he would leave the country ; on the same evening that the Afghan leaders met in a house in the city to organise the projected outbreak ! One of them was a certain Abdula Khan, a man of haughty and revengeful temper, who had long brooded over the wrongs he conceived himself to have suffered at the hands of the British. Not ignorant of his machinations, Burnes had sent him a stern message, calling him a dog, warning him to be careful, and threatening to recommend the Shah to cut off his ears. He it was who suggested that the attack on the morrow should be aimed at Sir Alexander.

Early on the morning of the 2nd a friendly native called on the Resident with fresh warnings, but, as Burnes was asleep, did not obtain admittance. When the Shah's Prime Minister, Osman Khan, arrived, the servants woke their master, who rose and dressed in order to receive him. Then, indeed, the signs of danger could no longer be ignored. The street was filled with insurgents, and the air resounded with cries of menace. Osman Khan urged Burnes to return with him to the Bala Hissar, or to take refuge in the cantonments. He was too proud and resolute a man to quit his post, though he so far recognised the crisis that was upon him as to send an application to the envoy for additional troops. Unhappily, Sir William Macnaghten and Elphinstone between them contrived to waste some hours in dilatory counsels, and thus lost the golden opportunity of crushing the insurrection and saving the lives of Burnes and his companions. Both of them paid very dearly for their culpable indecision, on which otherwise the censure of history would rest indelibly.

In front of the Resident's house raged a furious mob thirsting for blood. Trusting to his personal influence, he forbade his sepoy guards to fire, and stepped out on an upper balcony, accompanied by his brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, and his military secretary, Lieutenant William Broadfoot. He began to harangue the insurgents, but they drowned his voice with their discordant yells. A bullet in the chest slew Lieutenant Broadfoot, and then Sir Alexander felt that resistance

was hopeless. The Kabulese, setting fire to the stables, made their way into the garden, and prepared to force an entrance to the house. Burnes offered large sums of money if they would spare his brother and himself; the sole answer was a loud shout of "Come down into the garden." The sepoys then opened fire with good effect, until a Kashmiri Muhammadan, who had obtained admission, swore solemnly on the Kuran that he would convoy Burnes and his brother, if the firing were stopped, to the Kuzzilbash fort, about half a mile to the north-west, which Captain Trevor held with a small garrison. It was a poor chance, but the only one. Disguised in native attire, Burnes descended to the door, and as he stepped across the threshold and faced the crowd, his treacherous guide exclaimed, "This is Secundur Burnes Sahib!" Both he and his brother immediately fell, hacked to death by Afghan knives. The sepoys still stood to their posts, but were overpowered and murdered, as well as every man, woman, and child on the premises.

Sweeping onwards with shouts of furious exultation, the mob attacked the adjoining house, belonging to Captain Johnson, the Shah's military paymaster, and found there a booty of a hundred thousand rupees, which he had incautiously removed from the Bala Hissar. The house was set on fire, and all the official documents destroyed. Meanwhile, the British troops, encamped within a mile and a half of all this murder and pillage, made no movement; and it was mid-day before Brigadier Shelton's corps, stationed on the Suah Sung Hills, and consisting of a few companies of native infantry with four guns, got orders to proceed to the Resident's relief. The Shah, however, had acted with more vigour, and had dispatched his Hindustani regiment with two guns under Colonel Campbell. Unfortunately, instead of taking the most direct and open route, Campbell plunged into the narrow and winding streets of the city, where the populace easily obstructed his progress. In a few minutes he lost 200 men, and probably all would have perished but for opportune help afforded by Brigadier Shelton.

Though it was by this time known to Macnaghten and Elphin-

stone that the insurrection was upon them, with extraordinary imbecility, they made no effort to meet it. To the rudest private in the army of occupation, the peril of the position must have been obvious, yet the commander rested supine and inactive. His force was cut into two sections, one occupying the Bala Hissar, and the other some cantonments about two miles off, with a broad canal and the river Kabul between them. By an alarming blunder the commissariat stores had been collected in a small weak fort, four hundred yards beyond the cantonments. These, we may add, were in a situation which was practically indefensible. It lay so low that the neighbouring hills and buildings completely dominated it, and the ramparts were of such mean construction "that a pony was backed by an officer to scramble down the ditch and over the wall."

Nothing was done by the general until three o'clock in the afternoon of the second day, when he ordered a detachment to enter the city; it was too weak numerically, and was driven back with loss. Orders were sent to Nott to send a couple of regiments from Kandahar, and to General Sale to hasten up from Jalalabad. Nott, while strongly protesting, dispatched the regiments, but the disordered state of the country compelled them to return; and Sale, having neither provisions nor ammunition to support his march, wisely resolved to fortify Jalalabad, and hold it until the Kabul force fell back upon it, or reinforcements arrived from Peshawar or India. So it came to pass that the commander at Kabul was compelled to depend upon his own resources; and even under the most favourable conditions, troops could not have arrived from either Kandahar or Jalalabad in time to have averted the disaster due to his vacillation, irresolution, and criminal procrastination. On the 5th, the attacks of the enemy compelled the evacuation of the commissariat fort, which as greatly discouraged the British as it increased the confidence of the Afghans. "The Godown fort," notes Captain Johnson, "was this day something similar to a large ants' nest. Ere noon thousands and thousands had assembled from far and wide to participate in the booty of the

English dogs, each man taking with him as much as he could carry; and to this we were all eye-witnesses." Well might Shah Shuja, as from the battlements of the Bala Hissar he looked down upon this remarkable scene, exclaim, "Surely the English are mad!"

Error succeeded error, imbecility was piled upon imbecility, until the spirit of the soldiers was broken, and an army which, properly led, could have cleared Kabul of every Afghan, came to doubt its own courage, and to dread an enemy it had formerly despised. Feeling his own incompetency, the general began to write to Macnaghten with proposals for retreat, and to press for their immediate consideration. There was a twelvemonth's supply of ammunition in store, and yet he wrote, "We have expended a great quantity; therefore it becomes worthy of thought on your part how desirable it is that our operations should not be protracted by anything in treating that might tend to a continuance of the present state of things. Do not suppose from this I wish to recommend or am advocating humiliating terms, or such as would reflect disgrace on us; but this fact of ammunition must not be lost sight of." It is happily rare enough in our British history to meet with a general who talks of soliciting an enemy's permission to retreat, and not of battle and victory! His officers felt so keenly the need of some guiding hand that they pressed him to recall Brigadier Shelton from the Bala Hissar; and he at length consented that the brigadier should undertake the duties of second in command (November 9th); but the choice was unfortunate, for though Shelton was a man of indomitable courage, he was also a man of intractable temper, and as he sought, in disgust at the general's vacillations, to gather up all the power in his own hands, a terrible quarrel soon broke out between the lieutenant and his chief. Thereafter, it was enough for the general or his advisers to suggest a plan for him to oppose it; and when the Amir advised the concentration of the entire British forces at the Bala Hissar, he urged their withdrawal to Jalalabad.

On the morning of the 20th the enemy seized upon several forts near the cantonments, from which they opened a harass-

ing fire. After some hesitation, Shelton was ordered to attack the nearest and most troublesome of these positions ; but our men had lost their nerve and twice retreated, and though the fort was finally captured, it was with a loss of 200 killed and wounded. Meanwhile, the envoy endeavoured to secure the safety of the troops by opening up negotiations with the insurgent chiefs, to whom, through Mohun Lal, the moonshee, he offered a bribe of two lakhs of rupees, increasing it to three and five, but without success. A more nefarious game was played by Lieutenant Conolly, who acted as political agent with the Amir in the Bala Hissar ; he authorised Mohun Lal to promise 10,000 or even 15,000 rupees for the heads of the principal Afghan leaders. It is to be feared that Macnaghten was not absolutely ignorant of this unhappy negotiation, nor unwilling that it should succeed. Mohun Lal soon found a couple of wretches willing to become assassins, and marked down as their earliest victims Abdula Khan and Mir Musjedi, the two chiefs who had concocted the attack on Burnes's house. The knives of these would-be murderers, however, were never employed.

On the 13th the enemy assembled in force upon the heights, and poured their shot thickly into the cantonments. Macnaghten wished them dislodged, and when the general and the brigadier declined to act, took the responsibility upon himself. This stimulated Shelton into action ; he started with his men before daybreak, and for some hours the fighting was continuous and fierce. The British were victorious, but a day or two later the position was re-occupied by the Afghans. On the 23rd the attack was repeated. With his usual impetuosity Shelton carried the heights, and posted his men on the north-eastern extremity of the ridge which dominates the village of Behmaroo. He had with him but one gun, which was skilfully and steadfastly plied, until the overheating of the vent rendered it unserviceable. The movements of the British were visible from the city, and soon as day dawned the plain swarmed with Afghans, who either re-occupied the village or took up their position on an opposite hill, whence they opened an incessant and destruc-

tive fire. Leaving five companies on the height, Shelton led the rest of his force, with his one gun, to a point where the hill overhung a deep gorge, and thence essayed to return the hostile fire. Unfortunately this one gun soon proved useless, and the old short-range muskets of his men proved useless against the far-reaching Afghan *jizails* or matchlocks. He showed a bold front, nevertheless, until a detachment of the enemy, who had lain concealed in the gorge, suddenly crept up the hillside and fell upon his flank. Taken by surprise and spent with hunger and fatigue, his thin ranks began to yield. "Shelton, who, ever in the midst of danger, stood with iron courage exposed to the thickest fire of the enemy, vainly called upon his men to charge. Not a man brought his bayonet down to the position which the English soldier burns to assume when he sees the enemy before him. The Afghans had planted a standard upon the hill, only some thirty yards from the British squares, and now an officer proclaimed a reward, equal in the eyes of the common sepoy to a year's pay, to any one who would advance and take it. But not a man responded to the appeal. A great fear was upon them all. The officers stood up like brave men and hurled stones at the advancing enemy. But nothing seemed to infuse courage into our panic-stricken troops."

At length Shelton succeeded in staying the fugitives, in rallying and re-forming them, and leading them to the charge. Then in their turn the Afghans showed great discouragement; and when Abdula Khan, their leader, was struck by a musket-ball, they set spurs to their horses and dashed back to the city, with the disordered battalions of their infantry following close at their heels. Had Elphinstone seized the opportunity and reinforced Shelton with the troops he had retained in the cantonments, such a defeat might have been inflicted on the Afghans as would have saved the army and the honour of the British name. It would have been well if Shelton, since this was not to be, had returned at once to the camp. But for some unexplained reason, perhaps to rest his weary troops, he halted on the height. Recovering from their panic, and largely reinforced, the Afghans renewed the attack, and with a force

and a vigour which our troops could no longer resist. They took to flight, and the Afghans pursued them with loud cries of victory to the very gates of the cantonments, when the chiefs drew off their men and marched back to the city full of exultant confidence.

"This," says Shelton, "concluded all exterior operations." The troops were thoroughly demoralised—had lost all confidence in themselves and in their leaders. The links of discipline were broken, the traditions of victory no longer cherished. Overcome with cold and hunger and fatigue, they had no hope of future honour or eventual success to sustain them under such a burden of woe. A force so feeble, so discredited, so disorganised, could not be taken into the field without a certainty of failure. Their leaders were driven to decide between two courses. Macnaghten, supported by Major Pottinger and Captain Conolly, strongly advocated that which Shah Shuja had originally advised—the concentration of the army in the Bala Hissar. But the military authorities were in favour of negotiations and retreat, and at length Macnaghten yielded. A message was sent to the Afghan chiefs inviting them to discuss the preliminaries of a treaty (December 11). Accordingly Akbar Khan (a son of Dost Muhammad, who had recently arrived at Kabul and been acknowledged as the head of the confederacy) and most of the Afghan chiefs met the envoy, accompanied by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, Mackenzie, and a small escort, on the bank of the Kabul, nearly a mile from the cantonments. Macnaghten produced and read the draft of a treaty which he had previously prepared, and after a conference of two hours its main provisions were accepted; namely, that the British troops at Kabul, Jalalabad, Ghazni, and Kandahar should proceed to Peshawar, and thence to India, with all possible dispatch, the Sirdars engaging that they should be free from molestation, treated with due honour, and supplied with conveyance and provisions; that Shah Shuja should be allowed to remain in Afghanistan with a maintenance of not less than a lakh of rupees, or to accompany the British troops, as he might prefer; that on the safe

arrival of the British troops at Peshawar, Dost Muhammad, his family, and all Afghans detained in India should be set at liberty ; that the army was to quit the cantonments in three days, and in the meantime should be supplied with provisions on tendering payment for the same ; that the stores and property formerly belonging to the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan should be restored ; that the property of British officers left behind should be carefully preserved and sent to India as opportunities might offer ; and that, "notwithstanding the retirement of the British troops from Afghanistan, there should always be friendship between that nation and the English, so much so, that the Afghans would contract no alliance with any other foreign power without the consent of the English, for whose assistance they would look in the hour of need."

What a bitter satire on Lord Auckland's policy this treaty affords, and how singular an illustration of the irony so often apparent in human affairs, that it should have been concluded by Sir William Macnaghten, one of the purblind officials most deeply implicated in that policy—one of the men most strenuously eager in advocating a course of aggression and unrighteous conquest ! And to this it had come at last : all his vainglorious vapouring and boastful complacency—to unconditional surrender ! Not often is Nemesis so speedy in her punishment of wrong-doing and injustice.

It must be admitted, however, that he was badly served by the heads of the army, to whose incompetency and irresolution the final collapse was due. When they declared against the plan of holding out in the Bala Hissar, submission was the only alternative, and Macnaghten did the best he could to make that submission as little dishonourable as possible. "The whole country, as far as we could learn," he says, "had risen in rebellion ;" yet he had congratulated Burnes, only a few weeks previously, on the tranquillity that everywhere prevailed ! "Our communications on all sides were cut off ; we had been fighting forty days against very superior numbers, under most disadvantageous circumstances, with a deplorable loss of valuable lives, and in a day or two we must have perished from hunger, to say nothing of the advanced season

of the year and the extreme cold, from the effects of which our native troops were suffering severely. I had been repeatedly apprised by the military authorities that nothing could be done with our troops, and I regret to add that desertions to the enemy were becoming of frequent occurrence. The terms I secured were the best obtainable, and the destruction of fifteen thousand human beings would little have benefited our country, whilst our Government would have been almost compelled to avenge our fate, at whatever cost. We shall part with the Afghans as friends, and I feel satisfied that any Government which may be established hereafter will always be disposed to cultivate a good understanding with us. A retreat without terms would have been impracticable. It is true that by entering into terms we are prevented from undertaking the conquest of the entire country—a measure which, from my knowledge of the views of Government, I feel convinced would never be resorted to, even were the means at hand.”

“*We shall part with the Afghans as friends!*” Those astounding words reveal, not only Sir William Macnaghten’s optimistic tendencies, but his unfortunate inability to comprehend the Afghan character. “Afghan friendship” had been his delusion from the outset of his mission. No untoward events, no adverse circumstances, could rouse him from it, though the very conditions under which the so-called treaty had been negotiated would have opened the eyes of any sane man not blinded by preconceived ideas. Not until the end came—not only of his mission, but of his life—could he be convinced of the frail nature of the reed on which he leaned. It broke prematurely, and, in breaking, fatally pierced the hand of him who had clung to it so desperately.

The Retreat, 1841-1842.

The Bala Hissar was evacuated on the 13th, and its garrison retired to the cantonments, greatly harassed in the march, and losing a considerable portion of their stores. Next the fortified positions on the heights were given up, our soldiers being compelled to possess their souls in patience, while the rough Afghan

warriors sat on the ramparts which overlooked the British camp, and jested at the humiliation which had sullied the British flag. The departure of the army was still delayed, Sir William weaving cunning little webs of intrigue, and fondly hoping that reinforcements might arrive from Kandahar, the Afghan chiefs withholding the promised supplies of carriage-cattle and provisions. On December 18 snow began to fall, and before sunset lay several inches thick upon the ground—a gloomy omen of a severe winter, and a new proof of the folly of the British authorities; for had the troops moved immediately on the signature of the treaty, and by rapid marches cleared the passes, they might perhaps have reached Jalalabad in tolerable safety. But now the elements had been added to the number of their enemies. On the 19th orders were dispatched for the evacuation of Jalalabad, Ghazni, and Kandahar. Still searching after some means of evading the onerous obligations of the treaty he had signed but a week before, the envoy desperately plunged into secret correspondence with Akbar Khan, who beguiled him with the following flattering proposals:—That the British troops being drawn up outside the cantonments, he and the Ghilzais would join them, and on a given signal attack the fort and seize the person of Ameen-ula Khan, the chief leader of the insurgents; that Shah Shuja should occupy the throne; that the British troops should remain till spring, to save their honour, and then voluntarily retire; and that Akbar Khan, in acknowledgment of his services, should be made Shah Shuja's Prime Minister, and be guaranteed by the British Government a present payment of thirty lakhs, and an annual pension of four lakhs of rupees. These terms were at once accepted by the envoy in a Persian paper written with his own hand.

After breakfast on the morning of the 23rd, Macnaghten sent for Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, and bade them prepare to attend him to a conference with Akbar Khan. Greatly startled, Mackenzie, on hearing his intentions, exclaimed, "It is a trap!" "Leave me to manage that," said the envoy; "trust me for that." As yet General Elphinstone knew nothing of the singular arrangement by which an English

gentleman proposed to escape from a treaty he had but recently concluded. When the envoy explained it to him, he inquired what part in the negotiation the other Barakzai chiefs had taken, and was told "they were not in the plot." "Do you not, then, apprehend treachery?" said the general. "None whatever," replied Macnaghten; "I am certain the thing will succeed. What I want you to do is to have two regiments and guns got quickly ready, and, without making any show, to be prepared the moment required to move towards Muhammad Khan's fort." Elphinstone's instincts as a soldier and a gentleman revolted against this ill-advised intrigue, when the envoy discourteously silenced his remonstrances, exclaiming, "Leave it all to me; I understand these things better than you do."

At noon, accompanied by the three officers and escorted by sixteen horsemen, the envoy departed on his fatal errand. Near the river-bank, at a distance of some six hundred yards from the cantonments, rose a cluster of small hillocks, where Akbar Khan's servants had spread some horsecloths for the occasion. On the way, Macnaghten remembered that a beautiful Arab horse, which he had purchased at a high price as a gift to Akbar Khan, had been left behind. He therefore desired Captain Mackenzie to return for it, and in the meantime conversed with Lawrence and Trevor on the purpose of their expedition. He was playing for a heavy stake, he said, but the game was worth the risk. He could not, however, wholly suppress his misgivings, and after a moment's silence he remarked, "Death is preferable to the life we are leading now!" On meeting the Afghan Sirdars, the usual salutations were exchanged, and Akbar Khan warmly returned thanks for the beautiful Arab, and also for a handsome pair of double-barrelled pistols which the envoy had sent him on the preceding day. The whole party then dismounted, and proceeded to the hill-side, where Macnaghten stretched himself at full length upon the bank, and Trevor and Mackenzie seated themselves beside him. Lawrence, whose suspicions were on the alert, continued standing, until, to escape the importunity of the chiefs, he knelt on one knee, ready to start in a moment. The conference opened abruptly with a question from Akbar

Khan: "Are you ready to carry out the proposals of the preceding evening?" "Why not?" said Macnaghten. The increasing number of armed Afghans induced Lawrence to call attention to the manner in which they were crowding round; he remarked that if the conference was to be secret the intruders ought to be removed. Some of the chiefs thereupon lashed out with their whips at the narrowing ring, but Akbar Khan interposed, saying there was no harm in their presence, as they were in the secret. He had scarcely spoken the words when the envoy and his companions were seized from behind and rendered incapable of resistance. The three officers were dragged away, and placed each behind a mounted chief, who rode off at full speed in the direction of Muhammad Khan's fort. Captain Trevor unfortunately lost his seat, and was cut to pieces by a crowd of fanatical Ghazis. Lawrence and Mackenzie were lodged safely in the fort.

Meanwhile, the envoy was struggling desperately with Akbar Khan, whose intention seems to have been to have dragged him off like his companions, and held him as a hostage for his father, Dost Muhammad. "The look of wondering horror that sat upon his upturned face," says Kaye, "will not be forgotten by those who saw it to their dying days. The only words he was heard to utter were, 'Az varae Khoda' (for God's sake). They were, perhaps, the last words spoken by one of the bravest gentlemen that ever fell a sacrifice to his erring faith in others. He had struggled from the first manfully against his doom, and now those last manful struggles cost the poor chief his life. Exasperated past all control by the resistance of his victim, whom he designed only to seize, Akbar Khan drew a pistol from his girdle—one of those pistols for the gift of which, only a little while before, he had profusely thanked the envoy—and shot Macnaghten through the body. Whether the wretched man died on the spot, or whether he was slain by the infuriated Ghazis, who now pressed eagerly forward, is not very clearly known; but those miserable fanatics flung themselves upon the prostrate body of the English gentleman, and hacked it to pieces with their knives."

The murder of the envoy was an event which necessarily effected an entire change in the relations between the British and the Afghans, and annulled the treaty which had so solemnly been concluded. It was also an event which might well have infused some manliness into the counsels of the generals, and incited them to avenge the wrong that had been done, or, refusing all negotiations with so treacherous a people, to have fought their way onward, trusting to the protection of the God in whom they believed. But nothing seemed able to spur their despondent natures into action. When the Afghan chiefs had the audacity to propose, through Captain Lawrence, a renewal of the negotiations, they responded with an eagerness which they took no pains to conceal. In vain Major Pottinger, who had succeeded to Sir William Macnaghten's post, would have rejected the proposal; he was outvoted in the council of war and compelled to submit. The Afghans then rose in their demands, and insisted on four additional articles: that the coin in the public treasury should be given up, and all the guns except six; that the muskets in excess of those in use with the regiments must be left behind; that General Sale, his wife and daughter, and all other officers of rank who were married and had families, should remain "as guests" with the Afghans until the arrival of the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and other Afghans and their families, Duranis, and Ghilzais. These stipulations were also conceded, with the exception of the last, which could not be enforced, because it was impracticable.

On the 26th letters from Jalalabad and Peshawar brought intelligence that reinforcements were arriving from India, and exhorted them to maintain their position. As it was known that the Afghan chiefs were quarrelling amongst themselves, Major Pottinger once more entreated the generals to break off negotiations, and cut their way down to Jalalabad, or take shelter within the walls of the Bala Hissar. It was in vain. With deep reluctance he concluded the negotiations, but refused to give up the treasure except in the presence of Captain Lawrence, the military secretary, who was accordingly set free, and on December 29th returned to the cantonments.

He then drew bills on the Indian Government for fourteen lakhs of rupees ; though as he made them payable after the safe arrival of the army at Peshawar, which the chiefs undertook to guarantee, he left it open to the Government to repudiate them. The guns were afterwards surrendered, an indignity which went like a stab to the heart of every soldier, and stirred up some compunction even in the breasts of the generals ; and next, the hostages, Captains Walsh and Drummond and Lieutenants Webb and Warburton, in addition to Lieutenants Conolly and Airey, who had previously fallen into the hands of the enemy. On their part, the Afghans released Major Skinner and Captain Mackenzie. The ratified treaty, with the seals of eighteen Afghan Sirdars attached, was sent in on the 4th of January, and with it came private information from friendly Afghans that preparations were being made to attack the British troops as soon as they left the cantonments, and that Akbar Khan had sworn to annihilate all but one soldier, who was to be allowed to reach Jalalabad with the story of the defeat, dishonour, and destruction of a British army.

The safeguard promised by the Sirdars had not arrived when, on the evening of the 6th of January 1842, the British force, still 4500 strong, with about 12,000 camp-followers, started on their laborious march, in the depth of winter, and through a rugged and mountainous country. The Nawab Jemaun Khan, whom the Afghans had chosen as Amir, sent to Pottinger to warn him of the danger of setting out without the promised safeguard, but the die was cast, and the retreat went on. Yet so gross was the mismanagement, and so many were the delays, that it was six o'clock in the evening before the rear-guard could move, after a sharp contest with Ghazis and marauders, and it was two hours after midnight before they reached their camping-ground on the right bank of the Kabul near Bigrani, leaving fifty of the rank and file dead or dying in the snow, and two of their guns in the hands of the enemy. The roadway was lined with the wretched hangers-on of the army, stricken by the terrible cold. Even the sepoy, nurtured in the warmer climate of Hindustan, were falling on the line of march. Major Pottinger and other officers had

recommended that the old horse-clothing and all similar material should be cut into strips, for the soldiers to roll round their feet and ankles, after the Afghan fashion, as a protection against the snow. Even this simple precaution was never adopted, and the unfortunate travellers suffered terribly in consequence.

“The night was one of suffering and horror. The snow lay deep on the ground. There was no order—no method in anything that was done. The different regiments encamped anywhere. Soldiers and camp-followers were huddled together in one inextricable mass of suffering humanity. Horses, camels, and baggage-ponies were mixed up confusedly with them. Nothing had been done to render more endurable the rigour of the northern winter. The weary wretches lay down to sleep—some never rose again; others awoke to find themselves crippled for life.

“The morning dawned, and without any orders, without any attempt to restrain them, the camp-followers and baggage struggled on ahead, and many of the sepoy went with them. Discipline was fast disappearing. The regiments were dwindling down to the merest skeletons. It was no longer a retreating army; it was a rabble in chaotic flight. The enemy were pressing on our rear, seizing our baggage, capturing our guns, cutting up all in their way. Our soldiers, weary, feeble, and frost-bitten, could make no stand against the fierce charges of the Afghan horsemen. It seemed that the whole rear-guard would be speedily cut off. All thoughts of effectual resistance were at an end. There was nothing now to be hoped for but from the forbearance of the Afghan chiefs. And why should they forbear when the invaders of their country had fallen into their hands? Had the British by their conduct established any claim upon their generosity or compassion?

The Amir having promised—what, however, he was wholly unable to perform—that supplies of food and fuel should be forthcoming and the plunderers dispersed, Elphinstone therefore, instead of pushing forward rapidly and clearing the passes, was induced to halt at Bhuthauk. It was his intention to have continued the march during the night, but Akbar Khan

appeared on the scene at the head of 600 horsemen, and announced that he had come to protect them, and at the same time to demand hostages for the evacuation of Jalalabad. Another delay ensued—another night of horror was spent in the frost and snow, and in the morning Major Pottinger and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie—happily for them!—were placed in Akbar's hands, and the fatal march was then resumed. No sooner had the doomed army struggled into the tremendous pass of the Khurd Kabul, five miles in length, than the mountaineers swept down upon its disorganised ranks and began an indiscriminate massacre, in which, it is said, three thousand victims perished. Akbar Khan, it is possible, would fain have given the promised protection, if the fanatical patriotism of the Ghilzais could have been checked. They, however, had sworn to annihilate the invaders, and they kept their word. Through all the carnage the English ladies accompanying the retreat fortunately passed unhurt, with the exception of Lady Sale, who was struck in the wrist by a musket-shot.

The remnant of what was once a gallant and victorious Anglo-Indian army arrived at Khurd Kabul fort on the evening of the 8th, only to find their sufferings increased; for they had ascended to a still colder climate than they left behind, and were without tents, fuel, or food. So that hundreds of miserable wounded wretches wandered about the camp destitute of shelter, and perished during the night. Before sunrise on the 9th the army was again in motion, three-fourths of the fighting men, without waiting for orders, pushing on in advance along with the proletariat of the camp. The remaining troops afterwards set out, but had scarcely gone a mile, when, at the suggestion of Akbar Khan, another halt was ordered, though a swift march would have carried them beyond the confines of the snow. Akbar then proposed to take charge of the ladies and children—a proposal, after some delay, accepted by Elphinstone, on the ground that it was desirable “to remove the ladies and children, after the horrors they had already witnessed, from the further dangers of our camp.” Accordingly, Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, nine other ladies, and fifteen children, together with eight married officers—though why these

were allowed to abandon their posts has not been explained—passed as “guests” into the hands of Akbar Khan.

The native regiments had by this time almost melted away under the enemy’s fire, disease, cold, fatigue, and desertion; and on the morning of the 10th the British were almost the only “effectives” left, the sepoy who were still faithful to their colours having all suffered more or less from the effects of the frost in their hands and feet. Few were able even to hold a musket, much less to pull a trigger; in fact, the long, lingering march in the snow and the frequent delays had paralysed the mental and physical powers of the strongest, rendering them incapable of any useful exertion. “Hope seemed to have died in every breast; the wildness of terror was exhibited in every countenance.” The Afghans, watching their opportunity, plunged, with their long knives, into the crowd of victims, and slaughtered them like sheep. A narrow gorge between two precipitous hills was choked up with the dead and dying like a shambles. The British regiments were reduced to about half a hundred horse-artillerymen, with one howitzer gun, some 250 men of the 44th, and 150 troopers, of the 16,000 soldiers and camp-followers who had quitted the Kabul cantonments.

Shocked at this wholesale butchery, General Elphinstone sent to Akbar Khan, demanding that he should make good his promises of protection. He replied that he was unable; though if the British laid down their arms, he would undertake to save their lives. This humiliating proposal the general plucked up resolution enough to reject. By a rapid march, the defile where so many of the wretched camp-followers had perished was gained; before the troops could clear it, however, the enemy opened a destructive fire upon their rear. Shelton, with indomitable courage, repelled the attack, supported by a handful of noble and heroic spirits, but for whose intrepid effort and energy, says Vincent Eyre, it is probable that the whole would have been sacrificed. At Jugdulluk the weary survivors found a temporary shelter behind some ruined walls, and were endeavouring to enjoy a brief repose, when they were roused by sudden volleys poured into the very midst of

their bivouac. A bold effort was made to clear the heights occupied by the enemy. It was successful, and at nightfall the troops again found an asylum in the ruins. In the morning another appeal was made to Akbar Khan. In reply, he invited General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnstone to a conference. They went, and were received with courteous hospitality, only to discover that they had been cleverly entrapped; for their host, reminding them that Jalalabad had not been evacuated according to the treaty, informed them that they must remain with him as hostages. In vain General Elphinstone prayed that he at least might return to share the fate of his soldiers and to save his honour. Akbar Khan was immovable. Negotiations were resumed on the morning of the 12th; when it soon appeared that the chief had no control over the Ghilzais, whose lust of blood the wholesale slaughter that had taken place had failed to satiate, and that he could secure the safety only of the few whom he held as prisoners. The British went on their path of thorns at eight in the evening, and arrived at the Jugdulluk Pass, up which the road winds slowly by a steep ascent between precipitous heights. The summit was nearly gained, when, on turning a rocky spur, they saw before them a barricade formed of bushes and branches of trees. Though impeded by a crowd of camp-followers, the British soldiers made a desperate fight; but the struggle was too unequal, and ended in the almost total destruction of the army. Not more than twenty officers and forty-five men struggled on to Gandamak¹ at daybreak on the 13th. Here another sharp and sanguinary encounter took place, in which the British fought with their usual hopeless courage, and perished, with the exception of an officer and a few privates who were made prisoners, sword in hand.

Seven officers and five privates, who had quitted the column

¹ Here occurs a remarkable natural division in the basin of the Kabul, a sudden descent being effected from a minimum elevation of 5000 feet to one of only 2000 feet. The Emperor Babar says of this: "The moment you descend, you are in quite another world. The timber is different, the grains are of another sort, the animals are of a different species, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants are of a different kind."

at Surkhab and pushed on ahead, still survived. As they proceeded, fatigue and hunger claimed their victims, until the number was reduced to six—Captains Bellew, Collyer, and Hopkins, Lieutenant Bird, and Drs. Harper and Brydone—who reached Futtehabad alive. They were then only sixteen miles from Jalalabad, and their deliverance seemed assured. Some compassionate peasants stole out of their huts and offered them bread to eat. The delay, alas ! gave time for a party of armed men to come up. Bellew and Bird were at once cut down, and the others rode off, were pursued, were overtaken, and after an ineffectual fight, Harper, Collyer, and Hopkins shared the fate of their comrades ; Dr. Brydone alone escaped.

The British sentinels at their posts on the ramparts of Jalalabad saw in the distance a solitary horseman creeping slowly over the open plain. Who might this stranger be, and whence did he come ? As he came nearer they saw that the jaded animal which bore him staggered and stumbled as if nearly spent, and that the rider, wan and weary, could hardly keep his seat. A party of cavalry was immediately sent to his relief. His name was soon known, and the outline of his miserable story soon told. He was Dr. Brydone, the sole survivor, with the exception of 120 prisoners, of the 16,000 fighting-men and camp-followers who, eleven days before, had marched out of the cantonments at Kabul. “Except the burying of Cambyse’s army in the African desert, such a destruction has perhaps never been heard of in the world.” What are we to think of the ruler—of that ruler’s advisers—of his general—to whose blind folly and incompetence this terrible loss of treasure, and of lives more valuable than any treasure, and of honour more precious than either lives or treasure, was due ? The general escaped punishment, dying in captivity, so that England could not put to him the stern question of the Roman Emperor, “Varus, Varus ! where are my legions ?” But even on the would-be statesman, whose crude policy had initiated the expedition which resulted in so deplorable a calamity, a generous people inflicted no severer punishment than contemptuous indifference.

At Ghazni the gallant sepoy garrison, when driven from the town, had retired to the citadel. Kandahar was sternly held by General Nott, and Brigadier Sale at Jalalabad staunchly withstood the Afghan attack. The retention of these two important posts facilitated the work of the expedition to avenge our disasters and release our prisoners which was afterwards dispatched. But before it was organised Lord Auckland gave up office, and on the 28th of February 1842, his successor, Lord Ellenborough, arrived at Calcutta.

The new Governor-General was a man of parts, which were much impaired, however, by a colossal egotism. Naturally, he was timid and irresolute, defects of which he was conscious, and endeavoured to conceal by assuming a hard, arrogant tone and indulging in theatrical display and extravagant pretension. The son of the well-known Chief-Justice, he was born in 1790, and educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge. He was approaching mature manhood when, in 1828, he first entered the ministerial circle as Lord Privy Seal. In Sir Robert Peel's short-lived ministry of 1834 he served as President of the Board of Control, and was reappointed, when Peel resumed the premiership, to office in September 1842. In the following month he accepted the splendid post about to be vacated by Lord Auckland.





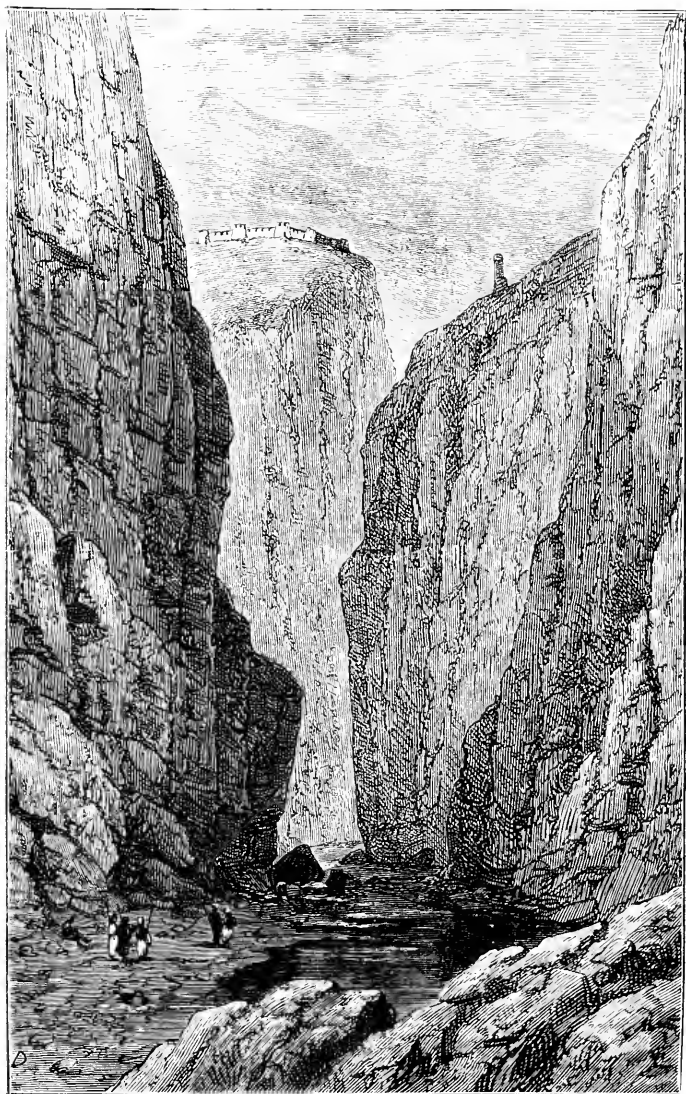
CHAPTER VIII.

1842-1845.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

The War of Retribution—The Campaign in Sind.

IT cannot be said that India gained much by the departure of Lord Auckland and the arrival of Lord Ellenborough. The former had adopted an evil policy, but carried it out, so far as his personal action was concerned, though ill-advised in his choice of lieutenants, with some degree of vigour; the latter enunciated (at first) a prudent and sagacious policy, and was fortunate in the lieutenants he employed, but carried it out with vacillation and uncertainty. On the 15th of March, in a letter addressed to the commander-in-chief, he intimated his conviction that the Tripartite Treaty was no longer binding, as there was good reason to believe that Shah Shuja had proved faithless to his allies, and that the British Government therefore was under no obligation to peril its armies, and with its armies the Indian Empire, by enforcing its provisions. "Whatever course we may hereafter take," he continued, "must rest solely on military considerations, and hence, in the first instance, regard must be had to the safety of the detached bodies of our troops at Jalalabad, Ghazni, at Khelat, and Kandahar; to the security of our troops now in the field from all unnecessary risk; and finally, to the re-establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, and to our own subjects



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and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities and violate their faith; and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed." This was the language of reason, justice, and sound sense; but unfortunately, when Lord Ellenborough left Calcutta and proceeded to the north-west, beyond the influence of his Council, his views underwent a melancholy alteration, and at Benares he announced it as his deliberate opinion that it was expedient to withdraw the troops under Major-Generals Pollock and Nott at the earliest practicable period into positions wherein they may have certain and easy communication with India.

Major-General George Pollock, whom Lord Auckland had intrusted with the command of a force intended to relieve Jalalabad, arrived at Peshawar on the 5th of February. The troops assembled there were in a state of insubordination and disorder, but his firmness soon restored the influence of discipline. By the beginning of April, reinforcements having come up, he was at the head of 8000 men, with whom he resolved at once to push forward, having learned that the gallant defenders of Jalalabad were reduced almost to the last extremity. He left Peshawar on the 5th, and prepared to force the Khaibar Pass in the face of 10,000 mountaineers accustomed to guerilla warfare. Dividing his army into three columns, he ordered the two wings to scale the heights on either side and clear them of the enemy, while he led the middle column into the pass itself. In this way he effected his passage with a loss of only 14 killed, 104 wounded, and 17 missing. Ali Masjid, a fortified position at the narrowest part of the pass, was attacked and captured on the 6th, and Pollock was then in command of the whole extent of the Khaibar and of the road to Jalalabad, which he reached on the 16th, just two days after a notable victory won by Brigadier Sale and the garrison over Akbar Khan and his Afghans.

These exploits of Pollock and Sale had no influence on the

mind of Lord Ellenborough, who, as we have seen, had determined on withdrawing the British troops. He had received information of a severe defeat which had befallen Brigadier England at Hykalzye, on his way to reinforce General Nott through the Bolan Pass, and of the brigadier's ignominious retreat to Quetta, and this confirmed him in his resolution; though on a second advance, in obedience to General Nott's peremptory order, the brigadier easily accomplished his object, and arrived at Kandahar with supplies on the 10th of May. In the interim the Governor-General had informed the commander-in-chief that the armies of Pollock and Nott were to be recalled, though aware that the best authorities in India, civil as well as military, regarded his determination as fraught with the most injurious consequences to the peace and safety of the empire. General Nott, therefore, to his intense irritation, received orders to evacuate Kandahar, after demolishing the defences and blowing up the gateways, and retreat to the Indus; and Pollock was instructed to withdraw every British soldier to Peshawar, unless he had brought negotiations for the release of the prisoners to such a point that the retirement of the army would imperil the result, or he had reason to apprehend an attack from Kabul.

It was fortunate for the honour of the British arms and the safety of our Indian empire that Pollock was not only an able and a resolute warrior, but a man of light and leading, with a good deal of statesmanlike sagacity. He urged upon Lord Ellenborough that the withdrawal of the army in existing circumstances would be equivalent to a defeat. He protested against the abandonment of active military operations for the recovery of the prisoners; and he added that, for the present, and perhaps for some months, the want of draught-oxen would detain him at Jalalabad,—in his own mind trusting that in the interval Lord Ellenborough's views would undergo another and a happier modification. And so it came to pass; for not only was public opinion in India and in England averse to his withdrawal policy, but the Court of Directors and the British Government at home insisted that the prisoners must be released and the national honour vindicated before our troops retired

from Afghanistan. The difficulty for the Governor-General was to invent some expedient by which he might preserve his personal consistency while he virtually abandoned his former attitude, and that which his ingenuity devised has justly been described as "unparalleled perhaps in the history of the world." In a letter to General Nott, dated Allahabad, July 4, 1842, he wrote :—"Nothing has occurred to induce me to change my first opinion, that the measure commended by considerations of political and military prudence is to bring back the armies now in Afghanistan at the earliest period at which their retirement can be effected, consistently with the health and efficiency of the troops, into positions wherein they may have easy and certain communication with India,—and to this extent the instructions you have received remain unaltered ; but the improved position of your army, with sufficient means of carriage for as large a force as it is necessary to have in Afghanistan, induce me now to leave to your option the line by which you shall withdraw your troops from that country." He then discussed the two alternative routes—one of retreat by Quetta and Sukkur ; one of advance by Ghazni, Kabul, and Jalalabad ; and after deciding that the former admitted of no doubt as to its success, he continued : "If you determine upon moving upon Ghazni, Kabul, and Jalalabad, you will require for the transport of provisions a much larger amount of carriage, and you will practically be without communications from the time of your leaving Kandahar, dependent entirely upon the courage of your army for the opening of a new communication by an ultimate junction with Major-General Pollock. . . . I do not undervalue the aid," said his Lordship, "which our Government in India would receive from the successful execution of a march through Ghazni and Kabul over the scenes of our late disasters. I know all the effect which it would have on the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, and of our countrymen and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition, which I should rejoice to see effected ;" but in case of defeat certain ruin would follow, and therefore "I would inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be

obtained by success, the risk is great also." In the same strain he wrote to Pollock, consenting that he should, if he thought it expedient and practicable, assist the retirement of the Kandahar army by moving forward upon Kabul! This devolution of responsibility upon the shoulders of Nott and Pollock was as unworthy of his position as his attempt to disguise his reversal of policy was unquestionably immoral. "Happily," as Sir John Kaye observes, "he had to deal at this time with men who thought more of the honour of Great Britain than of their own safety—who did not shrink from responsibility if, by incurring it, they had a chance of conferring great and lasting benefits upon the Government which they served and the nation which they represented." Trusting in their own conduct and courage, and in the well-proved intrepidity of their troops, believing that they were fighting in a just quarrel, and for the common interests of India and England, they accepted the responsibility; and having agreed upon a plan of operations by which both would arrive at Kabul at the same time, and deal the last avenging stroke together, they joyfully gave the order to advance.

March of General Nott, 1842.

We shall first trace the progress of Major-General Nott, who, having the longer route to traverse, was the first to move.

Sending back Brigadier England with a brigade and twelve guns by the Bolan Pass, he evacuated Kandahar on the 7th of August, and on the 9th made his first march northward in the direction of Ghazni. The opposition he met with was not very formidable, and on the morning of the 5th of September he came in sight of the great Afghan stronghold. The citadel was found in good condition, but the town in ruins. The work of retribution (as it was called), then began, the fortifications being blown up and all the timber-work set on fire—proclaiming, as the lurid flames shot on high, the vengeance of the British. When visited by Sir Donald Stewart's force in 1880, the evidences of this destruction were still visible. "With a few slight exceptions, nothing whatever, either in the shape of repairs or new buildings, appeared to have been done

since the date of our last occupancy, nearly forty years ago; hence the whole had fallen into a state of ruin and decay. A ruined citadel, broken and useless parapets, cracked and tumble-down towers, crumbling curtain-walls, and a silted-up ditch were all that remained of the once famous stronghold of Ghazni."

Here were captured the so-called "gates of Somnath,"¹ which, according to tradition, had been carried away by the conquerors of Gujarat to adorn the tomb of the great founder of the Musalman empire of India, Mahmud of Ghazni (997-1030). By order of Lord Ellenborough, they were removed and securely packed for conveyance to India,—it is supposed with a view to gain popularity among the Hindus by replacing them in the Hindu temple at Somnath. "The work," says Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson, "was performed by Europeans, and all possible delicacy was observed in not desecrating the shrine further than was absolutely necessary. The guardians of the tomb, when they perceived our object, retired to one corner of the court and wept bitterly; and when the removal was effected, they again prostrated themselves before the shrine and uttered loud lamentations. Their only remark was, 'You are lords of the country, and can of course work your will on us; but why this sacrilege? Of what value can these old timbers be to you? while to us they are as the breath of our nostrils.' The reply was: 'The gates are the property of India; taken from it by one conqueror, they are restored to it by another. We leave the shrine undesecrated, and merely take our own.' . . . The sensation is less than might have been expected, and no doubt the moollahs, who have had the guardianship of the tomb for generations in their family, will be the chief sufferers by the measure. . . . At present, religious excitement is alone to be apprehended from our carrying off their trophies. I call them trophies, although assured that they are spurious, for the belief in their genuineness is, politically considered, the same as if they really were so."

Conveying these strange memorials of victory, Nott resumed

¹ They were supposed to be the sandal-wood gates of the great temple of Jagernath.

his northward march. At Maidan, twenty miles from Kabul, on September the 14th, he found a force of 12,000 men, under some Afghan chiefs, posted on the heights which commanded the Kabul road. "Our troops beat them," wrote Nott pithily, "and dislodged them in gallant style, and their conduct afforded me the greatest satisfaction." Three days later he encamped within five miles of the capital, which was already occupied by General Pollock.

March of Major-General Pollock, 1842.

On the 10th of August, three days after Nott's departure from Kandahar, Pollock started from Jalalabad at the head of 8000 men, marching in two columns, with a reserve. At Jugdulluk, nearly a month later, he came in contact with the enemy, who were massed among the hills. Without waiting for his second division, he led the attack, which was delivered with an impetuosity and sustained with a steadfastness the Afghans were unable to resist (September 8th). On the 11th he collected his forces at Tezeen, and two days later came into contact with Akbar Khan and the principal Sirdars, who had selected the mountains above the pass as the battlefield on which to contend for the possession of the capital. They enjoyed the advantage in numbers, in the proportion of two to one, and of position; for to engage them hand to hand the British must force their way up a series of steep ascents and in the face of a tremendous fire. Moreover, theirs was the inspiration of religious fanaticism, for they fought against the unbelieving Feringhis, and of a glowing patriotism, for they loved their mountains and their valleys and their rude irregular freedom. Yet were they boldly met and roughly beaten.

The conflict was opened by the Afghan horse, who, lured by the sight of the British baggage-train and its potentialities of plunder, descended into the plain, only to be caught up in a whirlwind of British cavalry, and literally tossed to and fro like reeds. Meanwhile, our gallant infantry climbed from steep to steep, disregarding the swift bullets of the Afghan *jazails*, and fixing bayonets, charged their adversaries with a conquering shout that carried terror to their hearts. For

what manner of men could these be, said one to another, who laughed at the fire of their matchlocks, and scaled the steep precipices as if they had been born among the mountains? Retreating from crag to crag, the enemy fell into disorder, and each man began to fight for his own hand. All that day the sounds of battle rolled among the hills; but the defence constantly grew weaker, so that the assailants before sunset had completely broken it down. "Never," says Kaye, "did British troops display a higher courage in action or a more resolute perseverance. Nobly did the native sepoy vie with the European soldier." Nor were their enemies unworthy of their steel. "Many an Afghan warrior died the hero's death on his native hills, cheered by the thought that he was winning paradise by such martyrdom. Desperate was the effort to keep back the invaders from clearing the heights of the Huft-Kotul; but the British troops on that day would have borne down even stouter opposition. The Huft-Kotul was mounted, and three cheers burst from the victors as they reached the summit of that tremendous ascent."

No further resistance was attempted. Akbar Khan fled with a few companions to the Ghorebund Valley; his army melted away among the hills like snow in summer. Pollock resumed his march, after resting and refreshing his splendid warriors; seized the pass of the Khurd Kabul; on the 14th arrived at Buthauk, and on the 15th encamped on the race-ground at Kabul. Next day, with an escort of cavalry, and amid the deep sounds of British cheers and the strains of the national anthem, he planted the British colours on the ramparts of the Bala Hissar.

Evacuation of Afghanistan, 1842.

The Kandahar and Jalalabad armies having effected a junction by that combined advance which the Governor-General chose to consider a withdrawal, the command-in-chief, by virtue of seniority, devolved on General Pollock, whose first care was to effect the release of the British prisoners. At the British approach, officers and ladies, with their children, had been suddenly removed from their place of detention in

the immediate vicinity of Kabul (August 25th), and hurried off by day and night marches to Bamian, under an escort of 300 men. It was Akbar Khan's intention to have immured them beyond the snow-capped range of the Hindu Kush, but happily he was baffled.

At the earliest possible moment Pollock dispatched in pursuit of the cavalcade Sir Richmond Shakespear, his military secretary, with 600 picked troopers, who was supported by a brigade of infantry under Sir Robert Sale. It so befell that the commander of the Afghan prisoners' guard was a certain Saleh Muhammad, who had deserted from a local regiment in the previous year. He was suspected to be accessible to a bribe, and an offer was conveyed to him of a lakh of rupees if he would give up the captives. This he apparently ignored, and on September 11th he communicated to Major Pottinger and Captains Johnson and Lawrence a letter from Akbar Khan, in which he was ordered to hand over his prisoners to the Uzbeg chief of Khulum; but observing their alarm, he added that through the munshee, Mohun Lal, at Kabul, he had received a message from General Pollock to the effect that if he accomplished their release he should receive a present of 20,000 rupees and a pension for life of 1000 rupees a month. "Now," he continued, "I know nothing of General Pollock, but if you three gentlemen will swear by your Saviour to make good to me this offer, I will deliver you over to your own people." An agreement to this effect was drawn up in Persian, and signed by the three officers, and also by Captain Mackenzie. Afterwards, on September 11th, by an agreement among themselves, the other prisoners undertook to share the pecuniary responsibility:—"We whose signatures are hereunto attached, do bind ourselves to pay into the hands of Major Pottinger and Captains Lawrence and Johnson, on condition of our release being effected by an arrangement with Saleh Muhammad Khan, such a number of months' pay and allowances as they shall demand from us, such pay and allowances to be rated by the scale at which we shall find ourselves entitled to draw from the date of our release from captivity. We who are married, do further agree to pay the

same amount for our wives and families as for ourselves. We whose husbands are absent, do pledge ourselves in proportion to our husbands' allowances. We who are widows [Lady Macnaghten and Mrs. Sturt], do pledge ourselves to pay such sums as may be demanded from us by Major Pottinger and Captains Lawrence and Johnson, in furtherance of the above scheme." There is something truly English in the practical common-sense character of this agreement.

It is due to Saleh Muhammad to say that he acted in the matter with praiseworthy energy. The British flag was immediately hoisted on the fort, and preparations for its defence were at once begun under the direction of Major Pottinger, who, with vigorous promptitude, deposed the governor of Bamian and appointed in his place a more friendly chief, laid in supplies, issued a proclamation calling upon all the neighbouring chiefs to come in and pay their homage, granted remissions of taxation, and collected all the decent clothes in the possession of the party to bestow as *khelats* or dresses of honour. On the 15th of September a horseman brought the joyful tidings of Akbar Khan's defeat at Tezeen, and Major Pottinger then decided that they should quit the fort and proceed to Kabul. They had made their first day's march, when another horseman met them with the information that Sir Richmond Shakespear was hastening to their relief. On the morning of the 20th they found the cavalry at Koti Ashûr, with Sir Robert Sale's infantry holding the heights, and had the pleasure of joining his camp at Argandeh, whence they went on to Major-General Nott's camp to pass the night, and on the 21st joined General Pollock. Among the prisoners thus fortunately delivered were Lady Sale and her daughter, and it is needless to say that their meeting with Sir Robert Sale was of so affecting a character as to pass description.

The whole company arrived at Kabul on the evening of the 21st, and were received with joyous acclamations and a salute of twenty-one guns. They included Brigadier Shelton—General Elphinstone had gone to his rest—Colonel Palmer, Majors Pottinger and Griffiths, twelve captains, three surgeons, nine lieutenants, three ensigns, and twenty-eight non-commissioned

officers and privates. The females were Ladies Macnaghten and Sale, with the wives of five officers and three privates. There remained only Captain Bygrave to be accounted for; he had been detained by Akbar Khan, who, however, sent him in on the 27th.

As it was reported that Amun-ula Khan was collecting the remains of the Afghan army in the Kohistan, General Pollock, to prevent a renewal of the war, dispatched General M'Caskill to attack Istalif, the centre of the new movement. The Afghan chiefs, regarding it as impregnable, had sent thither their families and their treasure. The British arrived before Istalif on the 20th of September, and found that its strength had scarcely been exaggerated. It was built in terraces on the side of a mountain, was protected by numerous forts, and accessible only across ranges of heights separated by deep ravines, and covered with gardens and vineyards, which afforded admirable shelter for the enemy's marksmen. Formed into two columns, the British troops advanced to the attack on the morning of the 29th, carried the village of Ismillah with a rush, soon cleared the approaches, and finally gained possession of the town with a comparatively small loss. After burning a third of the town by way of "retribution," General M'Caskill marched northwards to Charikur, where he performed a similar deed of arms.

The Afghan army having been scattered to the winds, and the Afghan capital re-occupied, the prisoners released, and punishment administered "all round," Generals Pollock and Nott resolved on evacuating the country in pursuance of Lord Ellenborough's orders. Futteh Jung, the son of Shah Shuja, had been placed on the throne and recognised by the British commanders, but when he saw preparations being made for their departure, he intimated his desire to vacate "the seat perilous," and return with them to India and security. Another of Shah Shuja's sons, Shah Poor, was found willing to take his place, but, we may add, did not hold it long, having to make way for Dost Muhammad. Before quitting Kabul, Pollock seems to have thought it necessary to mark in some significant manner his sense of the cruelty and treachery of its inhabitants. After some hesitation he consented to spare the

Bala Hissar, on which his choice had first fallen, and resolved on the destruction of the Great Bazaar, or Char Chata, where the mutilated remains of Sir William Macnaghten had been exposed and treated with indignity. It was blown up with gunpowder, but such was its strength and solidity that its destruction occupied two days.

On the 12th of October the army began its homeward march in three divisions, commanded by Pollock, M'Caskill, and Nott respectively. They arrived at Jalalabad on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, and proceeded to dismantle its fortifications. Some fighting took place in the Khaibar Pass, but it was of no importance. On the 17th of November they crossed the Indus at Attock. Traversing the Punjab, they arrived in due course at Firozpur,¹ where Lord Ellenborough received them with the parade and ceremonial in which his soul delighted, and on the 25th issued a vainglorious proclamation which reads like an unsuccessful imitation of some of the most bombastic of Napoleon's bulletins. As a striking indication of his unfitness for a post which demands from its occupant a wise moderation, sobriety, and cool judgment, we transcribe it here :—

“From the Governor-General to all the Princes and Chiefs and People of India.

“MY BROTHERS AND MY FRIENDS,—Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnath in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmud looks upon the ruins of Ghazni. The insult of 800 years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnath, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory, the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwana, of Malwa, and of Gujarat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war : you will yourselves with all honour transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored temple of Somnath. The chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed at what time our vic-

¹ *Firozpur*, lat. 30° 56' N.; on the old bank of the Sutlaj, which is now 3½ miles distant ; contains an important arsenal ; population, 39,570.

torious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlaj."

The folly of this "song of triumph," as the Duke of Wellington sarcastically called it, becomes all the more apparent when it is remembered that the gates were not, after all, the gates of Somnath, and that they belonged to a much later period than that of Mahmud of Ghazni.

This proclamation proved to be the proverbial last straw. The Directors of the East India Company had chafed for some time under the irritating system of government adopted by their Governor-General. They had with difficulty tolerated his passion for theatrical displays, his showy progresses, his ostentatious preference for the military—like that of a London nursemaid,—his expensive ceremonials, his general restlessness and want of dignity. They had disapproved of his policy, which was one of "coaxing and demonstration," as unlike the policy of a Wellesley or a Warren Hastings as the glare of gaslight is to the steady fulness of sunshine. They had censured his measures; and now their cup of bitterness being filled to overflowing by a braggart proclamation, which was at least as insulting to their Muhammadan as it was unbecomingly servile to their Hindu subjects, they took care that their complaints should be made known to the Cabinet, which, however, showed no disposition to recall the offending Governor-General. For some months they remained passive; but the action he had taken in Sind and Gwalior, and the fear that he was meditating a war of greater proportions than any he had yet carried on, roused them at last to exercise their power—so seldom used that its existence had almost been forgotten—of recalling him without the consent of Her Majesty's Ministers. It need hardly be said that Ministers were much annoyed at this procedure, but it was unquestionably satisfactory both to Parliament and the people. And if the Directors needed any further justification, Lord Ellenborough afforded it in a speech he delivered just before his departure from Calcutta. "The only regret I feel at leaving India is that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable, the most interesting period of my life has been that which I have passed here

in cantonments and camps." Such words would have been appropriate enough from the lips of a soldier; coming from a civilian, they lacked, like most of Lord Ellenborough's public utterances, discretion and good taste.

He was succeeded by Major-General Sir Henry Hardinge, whose military qualifications were indisputable, who was, moreover, a man of calm and dignified demeanour, of great force of character, sagacious, conscientious and thoughtful, genial in his address, generous in his temper, and a capable administrator. But before we enter on the record of his rule, we must recite the particulars of that action of Lord Ellenborough's in Sind and Gwalior to which we have above alluded.

Conquest of Sind.

The conquest of Sind admits, from a moral point of view, of no possible justification; it is, indeed, one of the darkest chapters in Anglo-Indian history, and finds its parallel only in the invasion of Afghanistan. As Mr. Marshman says, "It is a blot on our national scutcheon." The treatment which the Sindian chiefs received was indefensible. "State policy might dictate their removal from a country where they had once been masters, but it was nevertheless an act of cruelty to inflict an indiscriminate banishment on those unhappy princes, many of whom were innocent even of a hostile thought, and to consign them to a distant and dreary exile, separated from all those associations which form the charm of existence." But the worst feature of the case is this, that the war with Sind was actually determined upon before the incident took place which was afterwards alleged as its justification.

The province of British India known as Sind (or Scinde) lies between lat. 23° and $28^{\circ} 40'$ N. and long. $66^{\circ} 50'$ and 70° E. It forms the extreme north-western portion of the Bombay Presidency, consisting of the lower valley and the delta of the Indus. On the north its boundaries are Baluchistan, the Punjab, and Bahawalpur state; on the east, the native states of Jaisalmur and Jodhpur, in Rajputana; on the south, the Rann of Cutch and the Arabian Sea; and on the west, the territories of the Khan of Khelat. It owes its name as well as its existence to the river Sind or Indus, the Sanscrit term for water.

In 1799, when Sind was under the government of the Talpur Mirs or Amirs, a British mission was sent there to open up commercial relations. The agent resided from time to time at Satra, Shahbondar, or Karachi, but indignities were heaped upon him, until at length the Mirs peremptorily ordered him to quit their territory. In 1830, after much delay and many threats, Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes was permitted to follow up the course of the Indus, carrying presents from the Calcutta Government to Ranjit Singh at Lahore. "We encountered," he says, "every imaginable difficulty and opposition from the Mirs of Sind. They first drove us forcibly out of the country. On a second attempt they starved us out. But I was not even then prepared to give up hopes, and I ultimately gained the objects of pursuit by protracted negotiations, and voyaged safely and successfully to Lahore." A Baluchi soldier said to Burnes when he first entered the waters of the Indus, "The mischief is done; you have seen our country." And a peasant near Tatta exclaimed, "Alas! Sind is now gone, since the English have seen the river which is the highroad to its conquest."

In 1832 Lord William Bentinck dispatched Major Pottinger to Sind to negotiate a treaty of commerce, which was concluded by the Mirs of Haidarabad and afterwards ratified by the Mirs of Khairpur. A tariff was to be proclaimed, no arbitrary dues or tolls were to be exacted, the friendly intercourse by vakils was to be extended; but the Mirs would not allow any merchant to settle in Sind, and travellers and visitors were required to carry passports. The tariff and tolls were fixed in 1834. In 1838, on the outbreak of the first Afghan war, the British troops ascended the Indus in direct violation of a clause of the treaty which prohibited the employment of the river as a military highway. The Mirs were not unnaturally indignant, and their attitude led to the dispatch of a column from Bombay, which occupied the fort of Manora, near Karachi. A treaty was afterwards concluded with the Haidarabad Mirs by which they agreed to pay twenty-three lakhs to Shah Shuja in commutation of all arrears of tribute due to the Afghans, to receive into their pay a British contingent of not more than 5000 men, and to

abolish all tolls upon trading-boats on the Indus. A similar treaty was concluded with the Khairpur Mirs, with the exception of the subsidy. The British then occupied the fort of Bukkur under the terms of the agreement, and for the next three years tranquillity prevailed. British troops and stores passed freely through the country, and our steam-flotilla on the Indus was plentifully supplied with provisions. But a change came over the situation when the disasters of the Kabul campaign shook the belief of the natives in the invincibility of our arms, and some of the Mirs were emboldened to reveal their hostile sentiments. This led to the formulation by the political resident at Haidarabad, Major (afterwards Sir James) Outram, of a series of charges, which he submitted to Lord Ellenborough, obtaining a prompt declaration that he would inflict heavy punishment, even to the confiscation of his territory, on any Mir guilty of disaffection towards the Indian Government. He had, however, the honesty to add that the faithlessness of the Mirs must be clearly proved, and not provoked by such conduct on the part of British agents as might induce an apprehension that the Government entertained designs contrary to their interests or honour.

Eventually, Lord Ellenborough placed the control of affairs in Sind in the hands of that brilliant soldier-administrator, General Sir Charles James Napier, a man of immense resource and dauntless courage, but also of iron will and despotic character. The spirit in which he entered upon his task may be understood from the language he employed in a report to the Governor-General:—"It is not for me," he said, "to note how we came to occupy Sind, but to consider the subject as it stands. We are here by right of treaties entered into by the Mirs, and therefore stand on the same footing as themselves; for rights held under treaty are as sacred as the right which sanctions that treaty. There does not appear any public protest registered against the treaties by the Mirs; they are therefore to be considered as free expressions of the will of the contracting parties." After this amazing statement, which was a direct reversal of the fact, he went on to argue that the government of the Mirs, "hated by its subjects, despotic, hostile

alike to the interests of England and of its own people," would be constantly coming into collision with us, and that as a matter of course the more powerful Government will at no "distant period swallow up the weaker." But why not come to that result at once? "I think it would be better," Sir Charles replied to his own question, "if it can be done with honesty." He had no difficulty in disposing of the point of honesty. "The refractory Mirs break the treaty to gratify their avarice, and we punish the breach. I perceive no injustice."

New conditions were accordingly imposed upon the Mirs. They were to cede Karachi, Tatta, Sukkur, Bukkur, and Rohir, and they were deprived of the right of coining money. Their disgust and indignation could hardly be restrained, and for a time nothing was discussed in their durbars but war, "open or concealed." On December 9th, Sir Charles Napier addressed a letter to the Mirs of Khairpur, which, in jocular terms, conveyed a distinct menace of hostility:—"Your submission to the orders of the Governor-General," he wrote, "and your friendship for our nation, should be beyond doubt, because you have solemnly assured me of the same. We are friends. It is right, therefore, to inform you of strange rumours that reach me. Your subjects, it is said, propose to attack my camp in the night-time. This would of course be without your knowledge, and would also be very foolish, because my soldiers would slay those who attacked them; and when day dawned I would march to Khairpur, transport the inhabitants to Sukkur, and destroy your capital city, with the exception of your Highnesses' palace, which I would leave standing alone, as a mark of my respect for your Highnesses, and of my conviction that you have no authority over your subjects. I should also encroach so far on your Highnesses' treasury as to defray the expense of this operation; because it is just that governors should pay for the mischiefs their subjects inflict on their neighbours. I therefore advertise your Highnesses of the destruction which such an attempt on my camp would inevitably draw upon Khairpur, in order that you may warn your people against committing any act of hostility."

As the Mirs silently continued their preparations to resist

the proposed aggressions, Sir Charles announced that he should immediately occupy their territory, and for this purpose began to convey his troops across the Indus at Sukkur. The dignity of Rais of Upper Sind was at this time held by Mir Rustum, then in his eighty-fifth year, whose faithfulness to his engagements had always been acknowledged. "The successor to this office," says Marshman, "of which the turban was the symbol, belonged by the usage of the country to his brother Ali Moorad, who was, with the exception of Shir Mohamed of Murpur, the ablest of the Mirs, but the personification of subtlety and perfidy. He was anxious to make sure of this honour, which Mir Rustum was desirous of bestowing on his own son, and our subsequent proceedings in Sind may be traced in a great measure to the infamous means which he adopted to accomplish this object."

Having discovered that Sir Charles's impetuosity was apt to place him in the hands of the first who gained his confidence, Ali Moorad contrived to persuade him that only himself and one of the Haidarabad Mirs were favourable to British interests, and beguiled him out of a promise of the turban on Mir Rustum's death. But as he wanted the turban at once, he sought to commit the aged Rais to some act of overt hostility. And first he persuaded Sir Charles to affront him with three threatening messages, to refuse the Mir an interview when he desired an explanation, and to recommend that he should retire to his brother's camp. The Rais obeyed, and thence, on December 20th, wrote to Sir Charles that he resigned the turban, as well as the control of his army, forts, and territory, to his brother. Ali Moorad represented that the resignation was voluntary, and had been formally inscribed in the Kuran before an assemblage of holy men—statements afterwards proved to be false. Even Sir Charles's suspicions seem to have been awakened, for he intimated his desire to see Mir Rustum; whereupon Ali Moorad hastened to his fortress of Dijikote, awoke his brother at midnight, persuaded him that the general was coming next day to take him prisoner, and terrified him into flying for refuge to the camp of his kinsman, some twelve miles off.

Sir Charles immediately issued a proclamation, in which he denounced Mir Rustum for having insulted and defied the Governor-General by his flight from his brother's fortress, and recorded his intention of supporting Ali Moorad as the head of the Tulpurs. And as Mir Rustum's son and nephew had refused to accept the new treaty, and retired to their great desert fortress of Imamgarh,¹ he resolved upon attacking it, and so to convince the Mirs of Sind that neither their deserts nor their negotiations could arrest the progress of the British army.

Though it was reported that a large Baluchi force was hovering on the borders of the desert, Napier took with him on this dangerous expedition—which the Duke of Wellington afterwards characterised as “one of the most serious military feats” which he had ever known to be performed or had ever read of—only 200 irregular cavalry and 350 British infantry, whom he mounted on camels. He had also two camels loaded with provisions and eighty carrying supplies of fresh water. His plan is thus described by himself:—“To march to the edge of the desert ; then encamp, select 500 of the strongest Europeans and natives, mount them on camels, and load all my other camels with water, except a few to carry rations. My camel-battery also shall go, and as many irregular horse as it shall be prudent to take, and then slap upon Imamgarh [he spelt it *Emaumghur*] in the heart of the desert. If it surrenders, good ; if not, it shall have such a hammering as shall make the fire fly out of its eyes. While this is going on, my camels shall go back for provisions, and water is abundant at Imamgarh. My expectation is that four shells out of the four hundred with my battery will produce a surrender, to say nothing of an escalade, for which I am prepared.”

On January 3, 1843, Napier arrived at Khairpur, next day at Dijikote, on the 7th at Chunka. The line of march lay through a wild and barren country. For leagues upon leagues the sandhills stretched away north and south in parallel ridges, with rounded tops and plaited most symmetrically, “like the ripple on the sea-shore after a placid tide.” In height, breadth,

¹ Lat. 26° 32' N., long. 69° 16' E.

and steepness, however, they varied considerably ; but though some were only a mile, while others were ten miles across, they presented one uniform surface. The sand was mixed with shells, and ran in great streams resembling numerous rivers, skirted on each side by narrow belts of soil, which fed a thin and scattered jungle. The tracks of the hyæna and wild boar and the footprints of a small kind of deer were occasionally seen at first ; but they speedily disappeared, and the gloomy solitude of the sandy waste was then unbroken.

The enemy several times showed himself, though he made no attack : he seems to have been too much surprised by the daring character of this march into the desert. On the 12th Napier arrived before Imamgarh, but the garrison had evacuated it two days before, leaving all their stores of grain and gunpowder. The fort, built of sun-burned bricks, was in the form of a square, with eight round towers, from forty to fifty feet high, and massive exterior walls, also of considerable height ; it was capable of a long resistance against any force unprovided with artillery. Sir Charles's howitzers, however, would soon have knocked it to pieces. In the bomb-proof magazine were found 20,000 lbs. of gunpowder, and with these the fortifications were blown into the air.

Early in 1843 Sir Charles Napier moved southward in the direction of Haidarabad,¹ where at the same time Major Outram was discussing with the Mirs the terms of the obnoxious treaty. They warned the British Resident that the Baluchi soldiers were getting beyond their control, and that if the march upon Haidarabad continued, hostilities could not be avoided. But they signed the obnoxious treaty (February 12), asking only for an assurance, which Outram could not give, that Mir Rustum should receive his turban and territory if he proved the treachery practised upon him by Ali Moorad. All this while the ferment in the capital was daily increasing. The Baluchis bitterly resented the action of the British towards their chiefs, and on the day of the signature of the treaty their attitude was so threatening that it was with difficulty Outram

¹ *Haidarabad*, lat. 25° 23' 5" N. ; long. 68° 24' 51" E. ; capital of Sind ; population, 48,153.

regained the Residency, which was situated three miles from the city, on the bank of the Indus. Next day he received private information that the Baluchis had sworn on the Kuran to fight the British, and that the Mirs could no longer restrain them. The latter asked permission to repossess themselves of the lands of which Ali Moorad had deprived them, and when this was refused they plaintively observed, "It is hard that you will neither promise restoration of our property nor allow us to right ourselves. The Kairpur Mirs then must fight for their own land, which Ali has taken from them; but why should the Haidarabad Mirs be held answerable for their wrongdoing?" They then entreated the Resident to retire to some place of greater security, but to a British officer such a course was obviously impossible. So it came to pass that on the morning of the 15th the Residency was besieged by a large body of Baluchi soldiery. On the river-side, however, it was commanded by the guns of a couple of armed steamers, the *Plover* and the *Satellite*, which were moored on the Indus at a distance of 450 yards. Outram, who had under his command some fifty sepoy and a company of the 22nd, bravely defended the Residency for three hours against the attack of the infuriated Baluchis, until, his stock of ammunition running short, he was compelled to withdraw on board the steamers, with a loss of three killed, ten wounded, and four missing.

After this untoward incident war was inevitable. The attack on the Residency, though the natural result of an unjust and arbitrary policy, was an insult which could not be condoned. Sir Charles Napier pushed forward rapidly, and reaching Mutari on the morning of the 16th, ascertained that the Baluchis were posted at Miani¹ (or Meeanee), about two miles distant. The troops under his orders did not number more than 2800, while the enemy was 22,000 strong; but of course, he had resolved to attack and conquer. "The Baluchis," he wrote to a friend, "are robbers, inspired by a policy of enthusiasm against us and our protection of the poor Sindhian people. They have sworn on the Kuran to destroy the English general and his

¹ *Miani*, a village six miles N. of Haidarabad, on the bank of the Fuldi.

army! I, being ready for the trial, march at midnight, and I shall be within a few miles of them by six o'clock; perhaps I may make a forced march, and begin the battle sooner than they expect. Various matters will decide this between now and the morning. . . . Their cavalry is 10,000 strong, and in a vast plain of smooth, hard, clayey sand. . . . My cavalry, about 800! These are long odds, more than ten to one. However, to-morrow or the day after we shall know each other's value." On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Baluchis knew nothing of the science of war, and in discipline and weapons were greatly inferior to the small but compact and well-trained British army."

Battle of Miani, February 17, 1843.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the British advanced-guard came in sight of the Baluchis, who had taken up a strong position behind the nullah or dry bed of the Fuldi, which on the side towards the British had a high bank. Each flank was covered by a shikargah or jungle-wood, which provided admirable shelter for the infantry. Behind the right wing the Fuldi took a sudden curve to the rear, forming a kind of tongue or peninsula, where the Baluchis had massed their horsemen. It was evident to the British general that to attempt either flank would expose his little force to severe loss, and perhaps disaster. He resolved to deliver his attack against the centre. Forming his baggage, camp-followers, and animals into a circle behind his line of battle, he surrounded it with the camels, which were made to lie down with their heads inwards, and placed the bales between them, so as to form an effective kind of breastwork, in case of a raid upon them by the enemy. As a baggage-guard he detailed 250 Poona Horse and four companies of infantry. With the remainder of his force, 1780 rank and file, he began to advance from the right in echelons of battalions, twelve guns and the 22nd regiment in line forming the leading echelon, the 25th native infantry the second, the 12th native infantry the third, and the first grenadier native infantry the fourth. The reserve consisted of the 9th Bengal light cavalry, in rear of the left wing. "In this order of

battle," says Sir Charles, "we advanced as at a review over a fine plain swept by the cannon of the enemy." The distance between the two lines being not more than 1000 yards, was speedily traversed. The 22nd reached the Fuldi with a run, swarmed up the steep high bank, and stood for a minute on its summit. "Thick as standing corn and gorgeous as a field of flowers stood the Baluchis in their many-coloured garments and turbans. They filled the broad, deep bed of the Fuldi, they clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords, beaming in the sun, their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they rushed forwards, and full against the front of the 22nd dashed with demoniac strength and ferocity. But with shouts as loud and shrieks as wild and firm as theirs, and breasts as big and arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons, the musket, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood."

The battle was hotly contested for three hours or more, and such was the pressure of the enemy, that at one time the British line wavered, and was on the point of yielding ground, when Napier threw his cavalry against the right flank of the Baluchis. Our troopers dashed forward with an impetuosity which carried everything before it; they captured a standard and several pieces of artillery, and drove a large body of Baluchi horse beyond their own camp. "This charge," writes Sir Charles, "decided, in my opinion, the crisis of the action; for from the moment the cavalry was seen in rear of their right flank, the resistance of the enemy slackened. The 22nd regiment forced the bank, the 25th and 12th did the same—the latter regiment capturing several guns—and the victory was decided." The loss of the British was 256 killed and wounded; that of the enemy was estimated at 5000. The Baluchis also lost the whole of their artillery, ammunition, standards, and camp, together with considerable stores and some treasure.

Next day the victorious general sent a message to the Mirs that if they did not surrender he would storm Haidarabad. It is now believed that from the first they were averse to hostilities; at all events, their submission was prompt, and repair-

ing to the British camp, they laid at the general's feet their jewelled swords and other weapons. The swords, with a touch of chivalrous generosity, he returned. On the 19th he entered Haidarabad, and the British flag was hoisted on its great tower. On the 20th he took possession of the citadel. The Mirs' treasure, calculated at £1,000,000, which fell into his hands, was distributed among his victorious soldiers.

Battle of Dabo, March 24.

The war, however, was not yet at an end. Shir Mahomed, the ablest and most resolute of the Mirs, was on the way to join his fellow-chiefs when he learned their defeat and submission. The British general offered him the same terms, but he rejected them scornfully, and kept the field at the head of an army which received reinforcements daily until it numbered 20,000 men. Until reinforcements arrived, Napier felt it was inadvisable to attack, and he therefore constructed an entrenched camp on the left bank of the Indus, and also a fort on the right to protect the steamer which carried his supplies. Here he posted himself, saying, "If Shir Mahomed assail my works, he will be beaten; if he does not, the delay will exhaust his army, seeing that the Baluchis are as rapacious as they are brave." Finding no movement made against him, the Mir began to grow confident, and approached the British camp, sending in on the 15th of March, when only twelve miles distant, a letter which offered to allow the British to quit the country on releasing the Mirs and restoring the territories they had seized upon. "Just as his messengers delivered it," wrote Napier, "the evening-gun was fired. Then said I, 'Do you hear that?' 'Yes.' 'Well, that is your answer.'"

On the 21st of March the expected reinforcements arrived, and with 5000 men of all arms Napier quitted his camp at day-break on the 24th, and prepared to attack Shir Mahomed. A march of four miles brought him to Dabo, where the Mir was strongly posted behind a kind of double nullah formed by two deep parallel ditches, the first eight feet deep and twenty-two feet wide, and the second seventeen feet deep and forty-two feet wide. Between the two ran a bank forty-three feet wide.

Napier began the action with a heavy artillery fire against the enemy's right, which soon showed symptoms of disorder, and on being resolutely charged by the 3rd cavalry and Jacob's Horse, broke and fled with great rapidity. "While this was passing on the right," says Sir Charles, "her Majesty's 22nd, gallantly led by Major Poole, who commanded the brigade, and Captain George, who commanded the corps, attacked the nullah on the left with great gallantry, and, I regret to add, with considerable loss. This brave battalion marched up to the nullah under a heavy fire of matchlocks without returning a shot until within forty paces of the entrenchment, and then stormed it like British soldiers. The intrepid Lieutenant Coote first mounted the rampart, seized one of the enemy's standards, and was severely wounded while waving it and cheering on his men. Meanwhile, the Poona Horse under Captain Tait, and the 9th cavalry under Major Story, turned the enemy's right flank, pursuing and cutting down the fugitives for several miles. Her Majesty's 22nd regiment was well supported by the batteries commanded by Captains Willoughby and Sprott, which crossed their fire with that of Major Leslie. Then came the 2nd brigade, under command of Major Woodburn, bearing down into action with excellent coolness. It consisted of the 25th, 21st, and 12th regiments, which were strongly sustained by the fire of Captain Whitley's battery, on the right of which were the 8th and 1st regiments, under Majors Brown and Clibborne. These two corps advanced with the regularity of a review up to the entrenchments—their commanders, with considerable exertion, stopping their fire on seeing that a portion of the Sind Horse and 3rd cavalry, in charging the enemy, had got in front of the brigade. The battle was decided by the troops of horse-artillery and her Majesty's 22nd regiment."

The British loss in this decisive engagement amounted to 270, of which number 147 belonged to the 22nd regiment. The Baluchis lost 5000 dead, as well as 17 standards and 15 guns.

This victory practically completed the conquest of Sind; and Sir Charles Napier, who had been appointed governor, addressed himself to the work of civil administration with

characteristic energy of mind and body. He soon showed himself as successful in this department as he had been on the battlefield. He developed the resources of the land by a comprehensive system of irrigation and by opening up new channels of communication ; crime was sternly repressed, while industry was warmly encouraged ; fertile tracts of country which the Mirs had wasted as hunting-grounds were brought under cultivation ; and Sind became one of the most prosperous, contented, and peaceful possessions of the Indian Empire.

The Gwalior Campaign, 1843.

We have now to glance at the events which took place in the territories ruled over by Sindhia, the Maharaja of Gwalior.

The reader will remember that at the close of the Maratha war the only Maratha state which retained its independence was that of Gwalior. On the death of Daulat Rao in 1827, without an heir and without having adopted a successor, the state and succession were bequeathed by his will to the British Government ; but he had expressed a wish that his younger widow, Baiza Bai, might receive special consideration. A period of discord and dissension then ensued. The succession of a boy of Sindhia's family, Mugat Rao, who, it was thought, Sindhia had regarded with favour, was acknowledged by the British Government under the regency of the Baiza Bai. At a later date the young Maharaja, Shankuji Sindhia, was married to the grand-daughter of Daulat Rao and Baiza Bai. In 1833, however, Baiza Bai's regency was abruptly terminated. The young prince, his patience exhausted by the slights she inflicted upon him through her greediness of power, threw off the yoke, and, at the head of the larger portion of the army, asserted his independence. The intriguing dowager was removed from Gwalior, and Shankuji reigned undisturbed until his death in 1843. He too passed away without issue, and without nominating a successor.

The day after his death, Colonel Spiers, the Resident, received a pressing summons to the palace, where he found assembled in solemn conclave the ministers and chief nobles, who informed him that the Tara Ranee (the late Maharaja's widow),

themselves, and all connected with or influenced by them, had selected for the vacant throne Baghirat Rao, a boy of about eight years old, under the name of Jaiaji Rao Sindhia. To this selection the Governor-General assented, but he expressed an opinion that, as the Maharaja and the Ranee were both so young, affairs of state should be administered by a Regent. For this responsible office the ministers, with the Ranee's consent, chose the late Maharaja's uncle, the Mama Sahib, whom Lord Ellenborough at once accepted, with a promise to support his authority—a promise that involved us in a bloody and costly war; for when the Mama was displaced through complicated court intrigues, in which the Ranee and a high official, the Dada Khasji Walla, were concerned, the Governor-General declared it to be an insult to the British Government, and ordered the Resident to retire to Dholipur, intimating to the Maharaja's ministers that friendly intercourse would not be resumed unless the Dada was punished by perpetual exile from the Gwalior territories. The chiefs would fain have given him up or banished him to satisfy the Governor-General, but he was sustained by the Ranee and a large portion of the army. Lord Ellenborough was therefore provided with the pretext which he undoubtedly desired for interfering in the affairs of Gwalior, in order, as he put it, “to obtain reparation for an affront which, if left unpunished, would affect our reputation and our influence at every durbar in India; to secure the tranquillity of our frontier and that of our allies by the future cordial co-operation of the officers of the durbar of Gwalior in its preservation; and to diminish an army which is the real master of the Gwalior state, and placed within a few marches of our second capital. These appear to be the just and legitimate objects to be held in view.” He arrived at Agra on December 11, and immediately ordered the army, under Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough, to advance. The Gwalior chiefs were greatly alarmed at this movement. The Dada was immediately sent in to the British camp, and the Maharanee addressed herself to Lord Ellenborough in deferential strains, expressing a hope that the march of the troops might be arrested, and that the Resident might return to Gwalior. In

reply, the Governor-General allowed it to be seen that he had raised his demands; but the chiefs and the Maharanee, still anxious to propitiate, proposed that the Maharaja should come out to meet him, "in the manner usually observed on the occasion of a friendly visit to the Governor-General by the ruler of the Sindhia state, and that then they should proceed to Gwalior as if the Governor-General were returning the visit. But Lord Ellenborough, who seems to have expected that no resistance would be offered by the Gwalior troops, and that the British army had nothing more formidable before it than a military promenade, continued to advance, and on the 21st of December the first brigade crossed the Chambul and encamped on Sindhia's territory. The rest of the army soon afterwards followed.

This violation of their frontier awakened the patriotic and religious feelings of the Gwalior chiefs. They composed their mutual discords, and united in a spirit of the most resolute enthusiasm to resist the invading army. On the 28th of December, when a small reconnoitring party of the British were reconnoitring the country, they came suddenly upon the batteries of the Maratha army, who were stationed at Chunda, and were exposed to a heavy fire. Thus it was made clear to the commander-in-chief that the Gwalior troops meant to offer a resolute opposition.

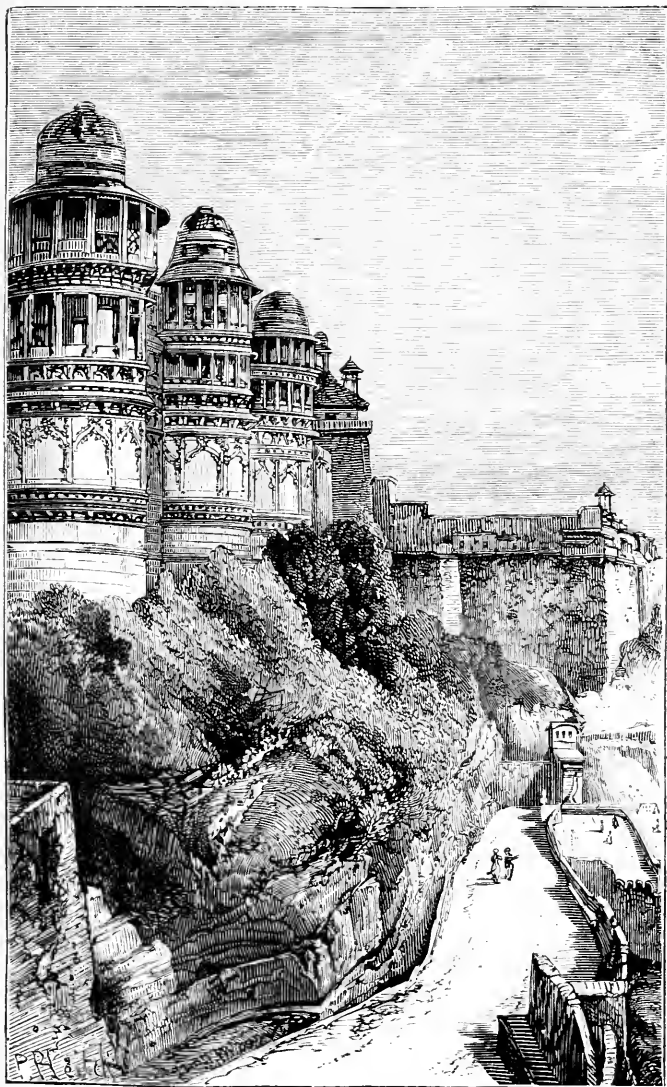
Battle of Maharajpur, December 29, 1843.

Sir Hugh was not a brilliant general, but he was as brave a soldier as the world could furnish. The challenge thrown down by the Gwalior army surprised but did not disconcert him. Taking it up with alacrity, he set his force, which consisted of 14,000 men with 40 guns, in motion, and crossing the river Kohari in three columns, drew it up in order of battle at eight o'clock on the morning of December 29, about a mile in front of the village of Maharajpur.¹ During the night, however, the Marathas had occupied the village with seven battalions and twenty heavy guns, and had thrown up

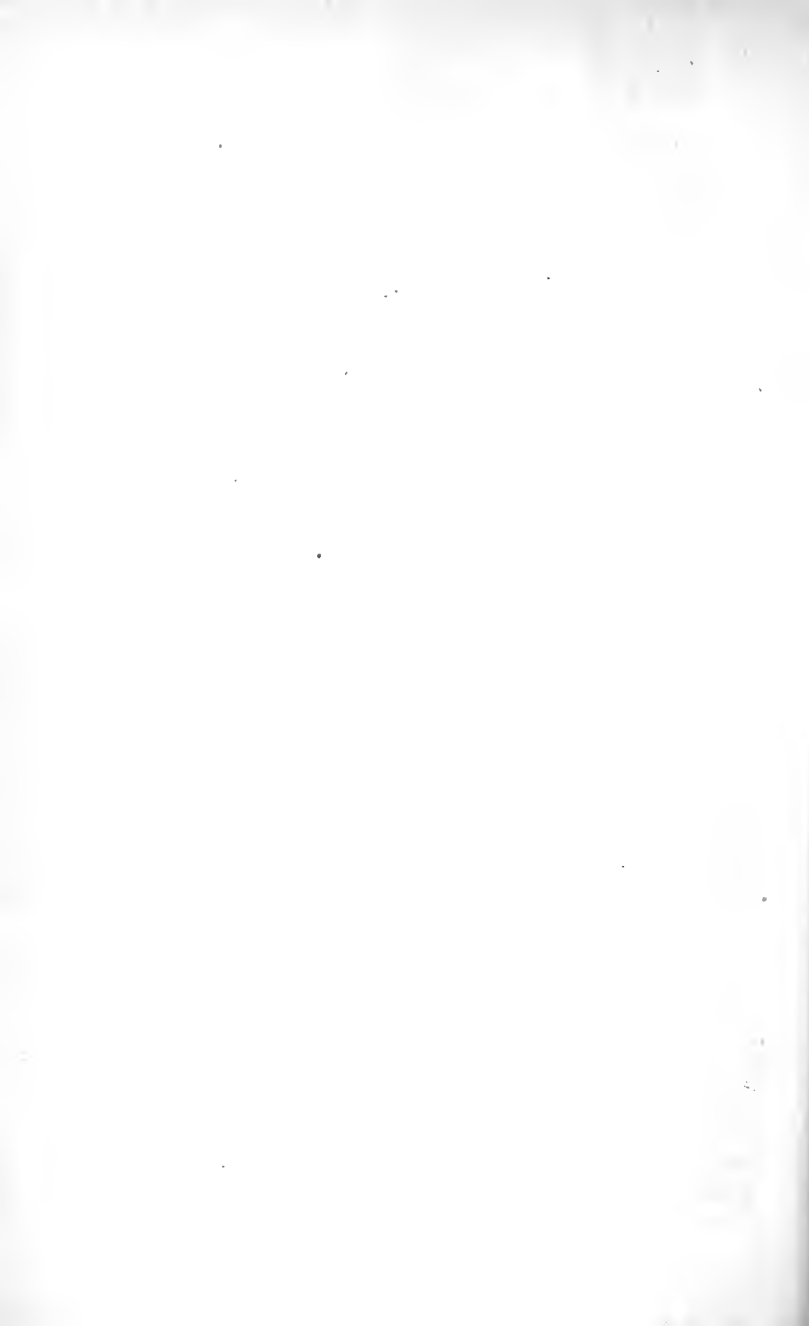
¹ *Maharajpur*, lat. 26° 29' N., long. 78° 5' E.; fifteen miles N.W. of Gwalior.

entrenchments. At the British advance, they opened with a storm of shot, and Sir Hugh was obliged to change his plan of operations. "Major-General Littler's column being exactly in front of Maharajpur, I ordered it to advance direct, while Major-General Valiant's brigade took it in reverse, both supported by Major-General Dennis's column and the two light field-batteries. Your Lordship must have witnessed with the same pride and pleasure that I did the brilliant advance of these columns under their respective leaders, the European and native soldiers appearing emulous to prove their loyalty and devotion. And here I must do justice to the gallantry of their opponents, who received the shock without flinching, their guns doing severe execution as we advanced, but nothing could withstand the rush of British soldiers. Her Majesty's 39th foot, with their accustomed dash, ably supported by the 56th regiment native infantry, drove the enemy from their guns into the village, bayoneting the gunners at their posts. Here a most sanguinary conflict ensued. The Maratha troops, after discharging their matchlocks, fought sword in hand with the most determined courage. General Valiant's brigade with equal enthusiasm took Maharajpur in reverse, and twenty-eight guns were captured by this combined movement. So desperate was the resistance, that very few of the defenders of this very strong position escaped. During these operations, Brigadier Scott was opposed by a body of the enemy's cavalry on the extreme left, and made some well-executed charges with the 10th light cavalry, most ably supported by Captain Grant's troop of horse-artillery and the 4th lancers, capturing some guns and taking two standards, thus threatening the right flank of the enemy."

After a sharp conflict the Marathas fled and took refuge in the fort of Gwalior. They had gone into battle 18,000 strong with 100 guns. They left on the field about 3000 killed and wounded, and lost 46 pieces of artillery, 43 of them of brass. The British loss was very heavy, amounting in all to 797 killed, wounded, and missing. When we remember that the numerical preponderance of the Marathas was not very decided, we are able to estimate the tenacity of their opposition, as well as



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the gallantry of the troops, who, inferior in numbers, nevertheless defeated so gallant a foe. Maharajpur was, in fact, "a soldier's battle." Little generalship was displayed by the British commander-in-chief, and the victory was won by the bayonet.

Battle of Panniar,¹ December 29, 1843.

The 29th of December was distinguished by a double victory, for while Gough was defeating the Marathas at Maharajpur, Major-General Grey was successfully engaged with another Maratha army at Panniar.

At the head of a column sent from Bombay to co-operate with the main body under Gough, marching from Agra, Grey crossed the river Sind at Chandpur, and proceeding north-west, came upon a force of Marathas, 12,000 strong, with a contingent of artillery, strongly posted near the village of Mangor. Grey's column did not exceed 3000, but drawing them up in line of battle at Panniar, he led them forward, and, by a series of vigorous attacks, broke up the left and centre of the enemy, dislodged them at all points, and put them to flight with tremendous slaughter and the loss of all their guns.

Complete submission was the only course left open to the humiliated Marathas. On the 30th the young Ranee—she was only a girl of thirteen, but an Indian sun ripens early, and she behaved with all the dignity and self-possession of a woman—with the boy-Maharaja, and their chiefs and nobles, repaired to the British camp, and had an interview with the Governor-General. The litter of the Ranee, whose face was concealed by the usual veil, was carried into a private pavilion, where Lord Ellenborough took his seat beside it, and entered into conversation, Colonel Sleeman, the Resident, acting as interpreter. The Ranee referred to her youth and inexperience, and said she had come with her adopted son to solicit the forgiveness of the powerful and generous British Government, adding that all that had occurred was brought about by her insubordinate army. The Governor-General remarked that the restoration of order was imperative, and that his object was to establish in Gwalior a strong and efficient authority. It is said that he allowed the

¹ *Panniar* (Punneah), lat. 26° 6' 12" N. ; 12 miles S.W. of Gwalior.

Ranee to believe that in the new government she would have a responsible part. Such, however, was not to be. He set her aside with a pension of three lakhs per annum, and called into existence during the Maharaja's minority a council of regency, consisting of six Sirdars, who should act "in accordance with the advice of the British Resident," and whose members should not be changed, nor vacancies occasioned by death be filled up, without the sanction of the Government of India. A treaty to this effect was drawn up and signed; it also stipulated that the Gwalior army should be reduced to 9000 men, of whom not more than 3000 were to be infantry, with 12 field-pieces and 20 other guns; that indemnity should be made for the war expenses, and that an annual payment of £180,000 should be assigned to the British Government to maintain a British contingent of 10,000 men. This arrangement, which converted the Gwalior state into a British dependency, having been completed, the Governor-General presided at the installation of the Maharaja, on which was lavished all the splendid ceremonial of Oriental pageantry. Not that the glare and glitter had much attraction for the boy-prince, who, with a gorgeous golden canopy shining over him, "see-sawed his legs beneath his throne, according to the fashion of listless schoolboys."

It was open, therefore, to Lord Ellenborough to retort upon the critics of his government that, whatever its defects from the moralist's point of view, it had at least the merit of success; that he had enlarged the borders of our empire in India by annexing to it the province of Sind (which gave us the command of the navigation of the Indus, an inestimable commercial advantage), and had contributed towards its solidification by converting the independent state of Sindhia into a British dependency.¹

¹ On his return to England, Lord Ellenborough was created an Earl. In the Upper Chamber he took an active part in the debates, and exhibited considerable oratorical powers. In the Earl of Derby's second administration he acted as President of the Board of Control; but his natural impetuosity betrayed him into writing a dispatch to Lord Canning, then Governor-General, severely condemning his policy in Oudh, which excited general disapprobation, and he was forced to resign. He died in 1871, a man of whom it may be said that circumstances prevented him from doing full justice to his undoubted powers.



CHAPTER IX.

SIR HENRY (AFTERWARDS LORD) HARDINGE,
1845-1848.

The War in the Punjab.

THE new Governor-General of India was one of those men who rise to the highest positions without being distinguished by the brilliant qualities that we are apt to suppose indispensable for the due discharge of their responsibilities. He was not a great general, nor a great statesman, nor a great administrator ; yet he held high military command, and was placed in offices which demanded first-rate executive ability and the exercise of statecraft of a high order. It is, nevertheless, an undoubted fact that in no case did he prove a failure, that, on the contrary, he was always more or less successful ; and this because he was gifted with certain elements of character which, in ordinary circumstances, furnish an excellent and sufficient substitute for genius. In the first place, he displayed an indomitable calmness and courage in the severest trials, in the most unexpected turns of war, in the gravest and most sudden emergencies ; and in the second, his absolute truthfulness and honesty secured the entire confidence of all who were called to service under him. Again, he was incapable of jealousy ; was ever ready to acknowledge the merits of his lieutenants ; and would never accept of any praise to which he thought their claim was more legitimate than his. Then he possessed a geniality, a cheerfulness, a buoyancy of spirit which sustained the enthusiasm of his associates even in the most adverse circumstances. And, lastly, he was animated by an unwearied zeal and governed always by a lively sense of duty.

Such qualifications as these will account for the honours to which Lord Hardinge attained, and render it unnecessary for his biographer to load his memory with a panegyric that would be appropriate only to a man of rare genius and singular achievements.

Hardinge had reached the maturity of manhood—he was fifty-nine years of age—when he accepted the government of India. He was full of activity and vigour, both physically and mentally, though his life had been one of arduous and almost constant toil. The third son of a Durham rector, he was born at Wrotham, in Kent, in March 1785; chose the army as his profession at an early age, and was still in his teens when gazetted as ensign in the Queen's Rangers, with which regiment he served for a short time in Canada. He was afterwards engaged in Sir John Moore's Peninsular campaign; and at Corunna his courage and collectedness, and the zeal he showed in the embarkation of the victorious army immediately afterwards, gained him promotion as a staff-officer, and the favour and patronage of General Beresford. At the age of twenty-five he was intrusted with the command of a brigade of the Portuguese army under that distinguished general. The same rank was afterwards accorded to him in the British service. As an officer high in the confidence of Lord Beresford, he served with an increasing distinction through all the great campaigns of the Peninsular war; and to enumerate the actions in which he took part or at which he was present is to recite the list of victories which raised the prestige of the British arms to the highest pitch,—Busaco, Albuera, Salamanca, the three sieges of Badajoz, the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, the battles of the Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, and Orthes. At Albuera the successful issue of the fight was mainly due to his well-conceived strategy, when, on his own responsibility, he boldly ordered General Lowry Cole to advance, and then brought up the remaining brigade of the division, overwhelming the enemy at the critical moment. The result was a glorious issue to a hard-fought day, and “1500 unwounded men, the remnant of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill.” In the campaign of the Hundred Days he was severely wounded at Ligny, which

prevented him sharing in the crowning victory of Waterloo, and compelled him to submit to amputation of the left hand.

After the peace he was created a K.C.B., and entering Parliament, obtained the confidence of Wellington by his business capacity, was appointed Clerk of the Ordnance, 1823; Secretary at War, 1828; Chief Secretary for Ireland, with a seat in the Cabinet, 1830 and 1834; and again in 1841 Secretary at War, a post for which he was admirably fitted. Such was the man, with this long and honourable record of military and civil service, who, on the 23rd of July 1844, arrived at Calcutta as Governor-General of India, and immediately assumed the duties and responsibilities of the high office, which his predecessor had vacated nine days before. For some months he was engaged in administration work; in replacing the civil department in the position from which it had been dislodged by the militarism of Lord Ellenborough; in redressing the grievances, but at the same time enforcing the discipline, of the native army; and in developing commercial enterprise by the prudent management of steam-navigation and the construction of railways. Though it was reserved for his successors to initiate the present railway system of India, we must not forget that the East Indian Railway Company was promoted by Sir Macdonald Stephenson under Sir Henry Hardinge's auspices, who was prevented from carrying out his plans only by the financial panic in England.

From these peaceful occupations Sir Henry was torn by the threatening aspect of affairs on the north-west frontier, where the military fanatics of the Punjab, known as the Sikhs, had massed a large army, and were preparing to try conclusions with the British power.

First Sikh War, 1845.

The Punjab, or "Five Rivers," is so named from the five great affluents of the Indus, the Chenab, Ravi, Beas, Schlam, and Sutlaj, which traverse its area. In shape this province resembles an isosceles triangle, the apex of which is formed by the junction of the Indus and the Panjnad, in lat. 28° 57' N.,

and long. $70^{\circ} 29'$ E., nearly opposite Mithankot. It is bounded on the north by Kashmir and the hill states of Swat and Bena; on the east by the river Jamuna (or Jumna), the North-Western Provinces, and the Chinese Empire; on the south by Sind, the river Sutlaj, and Rajputana; and on the west by Afghanistan and Khelat. The capital is Lahore, situated almost in the centre of the province; but the principal city is Delhi (or Dehli), the ancient metropolis of the Mughal emperors. With its present boundaries, the province and the feudatory states attached to it comprises one-tenth of the total area (142,449 square miles) and one-eleventh of the total population (22,712,120) of the Indian Empire. It numbers among its inhabitants one-fourth of the Muhammadan, one-twentieth of the Hindu, and eleven-twelfths of the Sikh subjects of the Queen. Together with Kashmir, which lies farther north, it occupies the extreme north-western corner of the empire, and comprises the whole of British India north of Sind and Rajputana and west of the river Jumna.

When in 1524 the Mughal prince Babar invaded India, on the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Lahore, he succeeded in subjugating the whole of the land of the Five Rivers as far as Sirhind. Two years later he again poured his conquering hosts into Hindustan, defeated the Afghan army in the decisive battle of Panipat, entered Delhi in triumph, and established the splendid dynasty known to Europeans as that of the Great Mughal or Mogul. During its time of prosperity the chief seats of the imperial family were Lahore, Delhi, and Agra, and the Punjab supplied the Mughal dynasty with their chief support against the reactionary Pathan house of Sher Shah. But even in the palmiest days of the empire, a power was slowly and silently rising in the Punjab which was destined eventually to overthrow the imperial supremacy, and to found a great military monarchy in the valley of the Five Rivers.

This power was the Sikhs,¹ originally a mere religious sect, who trace their origin to Baba Nanak (born near Lahore in the latter half of the fifteenth century, died at Dera Nanak, on the Ravi, in 1539). He taught the oneness of God, in whose sight

¹ *Sikhs*, from *S'ishya*, a disciple, or *Sings*, from *sinh*, a lion.

he said Hindu and Muhammadan worships were alike, the abolition of caste, and the obligation of leading a pure life. His doctrines were handed down by a succession of Gurus, pontiffs or spiritual leaders, and with each generation acquired new converts. Rari Dao, the fourth Guru, obtained from the Emperor Akbar a grant of land on the site of the present city of Amritsar,¹ which is the metropolis of the Sikh faith. There he dug a holy tank,² and began the erection of a temple, which was completed by his son and successor, Arjun Mall. The rapidly increasing numbers of the new sect, and the wealth and splendour which Arjun Mall enjoyed, awakened the jealousy of the Mughal Government. He was thrown into prison in Lahore, and died there, his followers asserting that he had been murdered.

"This act of tyranny," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "changed the Sikhs from inoffensive quietists into fanatical warriors. They took up arms under Har Govind, the son of their martyred pontiff, who inspired them with his own spirit of revenge and of hatred to their oppressors. Being now open enemies of the Government, the Sikhs were expelled from the neighbourhood of Lahore, which had hitherto been their seat, and were constrained to take refuge in the northern mountains. Notwithstanding dissensions which broke out among themselves, they continued their animosity to the Musalmans, and confirmed their martial habits until the accession, in 1675, of Guru Govind, the grandson of Har Govind, and the tenth spiritual chief from Nanak. This leader first conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a religious and military commonwealth, and executed his design with the systematic spirit of a Grecian lawgiver."

Govind was murdered by a private enemy in 1708, at Nandari, in the Deccan. To him succeeded his chosen disciple, Banda, "the slave," under whose fierce leadership the Sikh warriors attacked the Musalmans in Sirhind, plundered the

¹ *Amritsar*, lat. 31° 37' 15" N., and long. 74° 55' E.; 32 miles E. of Lahore; population, 151,896.

² The *Amrita Saras*, or Port of Immortality, from which the city derives its name.

towns and villages, destroyed the mosques and killed the moollas, and perpetrated those terrible atrocities which invariably accompany a religious war. Then came a rapid alternation of victories and defeats, until the Emperor Bahadur, taking the field in person, shut them up in the hill-fortress of Debar, and compelled them to surrender. Banda was removed to Delhi, brought before the imperial judges, and condemned to death. His son was placed upon his knees, a knife was thrust into his hands, and he was ordered to take the young life. Silent and impassive, he obeyed, after which his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers, and suffering much agony, but preserving still the same unmoved countenance, he expired.

After his death the Sikhs became the victims of a remorseless persecution, which so thinned their numbers or cowed their spirit, that for a generation they disappear from history. In their village communities they lived peacefully on the products of the soil, or lurked as robbers in the forests and among the mountains, swooping down upon the unsuspecting traveller. In 1738 Nadir Shah's invading host poured into the Punjab like a flood, "furious as the ocean," defeated the Mughal army at Kamal in the following year, and sacked the imperial city of Delhi. This was the death-stroke of the fallen empire. The Sikhs rose once more in fierce revolt, and though defeated and massacred in large numbers, "the religion" was invigorated and sustained by the blood of the martyrs. When the Afghans invaded the Punjab in 1748, they fought against them with success, and erected a new fort near Amritsar, while their Guru, Jussa Sinh Kullal, proclaimed the birth of a new power among them, the "Dul" of "the Khalsa,"¹ or army of the theocracy of the Sinhs. Then followed a period of depression, but in 1756 they reappeared in all their strength. Under Jussa Sinh they captured Lahore, where he caused a rupee to be coined, bearing the inscription, "Coined by the grace of the Khalsa, in the country of Ahmad, conquered by Jussa the Kullal." A great disaster befell them in 1762, when Ahmad Shah Durani, the Afghan conqueror of the Marathas at Panipat in the preceding year, inflicted a severe defeat upon their forces, and

¹ From a Persian word *khalisa*, literally meaning "pure" or "sincere."]j

pursued them across the Sutlaj. On his homeward march he destroyed the sacred city of Amritsar, blew up the temple with gunpowder, filled in the sacred tank with mud, and polluted the holy place by the slaughter of cows. But when the conqueror withdrew the Sikhs rose again with fresh fervour of fanaticism, entered upon a new and desperate struggle, and finally established their independence, ruling over the valley of the Five Rivers from the Jehlam to the Sutlaj.

By this time the peaceful theocracy of Baba Nanak had developed into a "loose military organisation," divided into twelve confederacies or *misls* (an Arabic word signifying *equal*), each of which acknowledged its own *sardar* or chief. Though enjoying equal rights and privileges, and quarters at Amritsar, they differed considerably in wealth and numbers; for while the Bhangis mustered 20,000 horsemen—every Sikh was a horseman—the Sukerchukas could not bring more than 2000 into the field. Besides these confederacies there was a body of *Akalis*, or "soldiers of God," who specially represented the religious element of Sikhism. They were distinguished by their blue dress and steel bracelets, professed to have been instituted by Guru Govind, and made it their object to reconcile warlike activity with separateness from the life of the world. "The meek and humble were satisfied with the assiduous performance of menial offices in temples, but the pious enthusiasm of others prompted them to act from time to time as the armed guardians of Amritsar, or suddenly to go where blind impulse might lead them, and to win their daily bread, even single-handed, at the point of the sword. They also took upon themselves something of the authority of censors, and although no leader appears to have fallen by their hands for defection from the Khalsa, they inspired awe as well as respect, and would sometimes plunder those who had offended them or had injured the commonwealth. The passions of the Akalis had full play until Ranjit Singh became supreme, and it cost that able and resolute chief much time and trouble at once to suppress them and to preserve his own reputation with the people."

Ranjit Singh rose into fame at the close of the last century.

In 1799 he contrived to obtain the cession of Lahore from Zaman Shah, the Durani king of Kabul, and thereafter, by consummate ability, unswerving tenacity of purpose, and resolute courage, he extended his sway over the greater part of the Punjab, and in 1808 attacked the small independent Sikh states which had sprung up along the east or left bank of the Sutlaj. They solicited the protection of the British Government, and in 1809, through the diplomacy of Sir Charles Metcalfe, a treaty was concluded which secured them this protection, while Ranjit Singh undertook to preserve friendship with the British, and not to encroach on the left bank of the Sutlaj, on condition that his sovereignty was recognised over all his conquests north of that river. This undertaking he faithfully respected to the day of his death.

Ranjit Singh was a great ruler. He thoroughly understood the character of his subjects, and was careful to keep their energies employed in conquests and remote warfare. In the European sense of the word, he was not a statesman, and the form of government he established, being purely personal, lacked the elements of solidity and permanency. He concentrated in his own hands all authority and power, but he ruled with even-handed justice, and preserved order throughout his dominions. Though his breaches of morality were frequent, he was scrupulously attentive to the externals of religious service, and treated with liberality and reverence men known for their sanctity of life. His victories he ascribed to the Divine favour, and never assumed any sonorous titles which might have savoured of personal vainglory. "Whether walking barefooted to make his obeisance to a collateral representative of his prophets, or in rewarding a soldier distinguished by that symbol of his faith—a long and ample beard—or in restraining the excesses of the fanatical Akalis, or in beating an army and acquiring a province, his own name and his own motives were kept carefully concealed, and everything was done for the sake of the Guru, for the advantage of the Khalsa, and in the name of the Lord." Laws he did not give to his people, because they did not want them; nor a constitution, for they would not have understood it. He introduced no new forms

of industry, he opened up no channels of commerce; but then the population of the Punjab was neither industrial nor commercial. The great object of his wonderful energies was the formation of a regular and well-disciplined army, in which he was assisted by the French adventurers, Generals Allard, Ventura, Court, and Avitabile, and succeeded so well, that after his death his warriors were able to meet our British soldiers on nearly equal terms, and not to surrender the victory without a desperate and protracted struggle. They were zealots and fighting men, like the "Ironsides" of Oliver Cromwell.†

Ranjit Singh died on June 27, 1839, at the age of fifty-nine. "He found the Punjab," says Captain Cunningham, "a waning confederacy, a prey to the factions of its chiefs, pressed by the Afghans and the Marathas, and ready to submit to English supremacy. He consolidated the numerous petty states into a kingdom, he wrested from Kabul the fairest of its provinces, and he gave the potent English no cause for interference. He found the military array of his countrymen a mass of horsemen, brave indeed, but ignorant of war as an art; and he left it mustering 50,000 disciplined soldiers, 50,000 well-armed yeomanry and militia, and more than 300 pieces of cannon for the field. His rule was founded on the feelings of a people, but it involved the joint action of the necessary principles of military order and territorial extension; and when a limit had been set to Sikh dominion, and his own commanding genius was no more, the vital spirit of his race began to consume itself in domestic contentions."

He left no successor capable of bending the bow of Ulysses, and Lahore was in a state of constant commotion through the intrigues of rival generals, queens, and ministers. His son Kharrak Singh died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned, in the following year. Then came Shir Singh in 1841, who was assassinated by Ajir Singh, and (in 1843) the boy-prince Dhulip Singh. Meanwhile the control of affairs had really passed into the hands of the army, represented by the central committee or council of generals, or Khalsa; and our disasters in Afghanistan having inspired them with a great contempt for the British arms, they dreamed a vain dream of driving us back.

to the sea, and enriching themselves with the plunder of Delhi, Agra, and Benares. In their self-confidence they dismissed the French generals Avitabile and Court, and placed the supreme military command in the hands of a series of *panchayats*, or "committees of five."

The menacing position of affairs in the Punjab had induced Lord Ellenborough to assemble an army of observation on the frontier, consisting of 27,600 men with 66 guns; but Sir Henry Hardinge, judging the situation from the view-point of military experience, deemed it advisable to increase the force to 40,500 men with 94 guns, while he ordered up to Firozpur fifty-six large boats, to serve, if needed, for the construction of a pontoon. He himself arrived at Umballa¹ or Ambala on December 2nd, whence, on the 6th, he moved towards Ludhiana,² to fulfil his announced intention of visiting the Cis-Sutlaj or protected states, according to the custom of his predecessors. Thus he was on the spot when the long-expected storm burst, and the Sikh warriors broke across the Sutlaj and encamped on British territory, within a few miles of Firozpur. On the same day (December 13th) Sir Henry issued a proclamation, in which he stated that the Sikh army having, without a shadow of provocation, invaded our dominions, he must take measures for effectually protecting them, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of public peace; and he formally declared the possessions of Maharaja Dhulip Singh on the left or British bank of the Sutlaj confiscated and annexed to the British territories.

Battle of Mudki, December 18, 1845.

Firozpur was garrisoned with 10,000 British and sepoy troops, under Sir John Littler. As soon as he was apprised that the Sikhs, 60,000 strong with 150 guns, were advancing upon it, Sir Hugh Gough, the British commander-in-chief,

¹ *Ambala*, lat. 30° 21' 25" N., long. 76° 52' 14" E.; 3 miles E. of the river Ghaygar, on the Punjab and Delhi railway; population, 65,000.

² *Ludhiana*, lat. 30° 55' N., long. 75° 53' E.; 8 miles from the Sutlaj, on the Punjab and Delhi railway; population, 45,000.

hurried to its relief with the Ambala and Ludhiana divisions of his army. On the 18th he reached Mudki,¹ a village about ten miles from Firozpur, where he had a skirmish with a small force of Sikh cavalry, who quickly retired. It was not supposed that an immediate action was probable, and the British, weary with a march of twenty miles, were preparing refreshments, when the scouts came in with the startling intelligence that the Sikhs were rapidly advancing, and had got within three miles of the British position. It was not, however, the entire army of the Sikhs, but a corps of 30,000 with 40 heavy guns, while the British columns mustered 12,350 rank and file with 42 guns, all of which were merely six-pounders.

On the news of the enemy's approach, our troops, exhausted as they were, got under arms with great alertness, and fell into order of battle. Sir Hugh Gough immediately ordered them to advance to the attack, and a march of two miles brought them in front of the Sikh position. "The country," wrote the commander-in-chief in his dispatch, "is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with a low, but in some places thick, jhow jungle, and dotted with sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their artillery and infantry behind this jungle and such undulations as the ground afforded, and while our twelve battalions formed from echelon of brigade into line, opened a very severe cannonade upon our advancing troops, which was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse-artillery under Brigadier Burke, which was soon joined by the two light field-batteries. The rapid and well-directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy; and as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions without advancing the artillery too near to the jungle, I directed the cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough to make a flank movement on the enemy's left, with a view of threatening and turning that flank if possible. With praiseworthy gallantry the 3rd light dragoons, with the second brigade of cavalry, consisting of the body-guard and 5th light cavalry with a portion of the 4th lancers, turned the left of the Sikh army, and sweeping along

¹ *Mudki*, lat. 30° 47' N., long. 74° 55' E.; 26 miles S. of the Sutlaj, on the old Firozpur and Karrial road.

the whole rear of its infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter, and put their numerous cavalry to flight. While this movement was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the 4th lancers, the 9th irregular cavalry, with a light field-battery, to threaten their right. This manœuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle, these brilliant charges of the enemy would have been productive of greater effect. When the infantry advanced to the attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse-artillery close to the jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry, under Major-Generals Sir Henry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill, attacked in echelon of lines the enemy's infantry, almost invisible amongst wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from their great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours, but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected; and their whole force was soon driven from position after position with great slaughter and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre, our infantry using that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, wherever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object."

The victory was won at heavy cost: 215 killed, among whom were two Afghan heroes, Sir J. M'Caskill and Sir Robert Sale, and 657 wounded.¹ It was evident that in the Sikhs our troops had met with sterner adversaries than they had ever before faced on Indian battlefields, and that the simple tactic of a resort to the bayonet, which had usually

¹ Some monuments have been erected on the battlefield in honour of those who fell.

proved effective, could be used against them only at a terrible waste of life. The Sikhs were not only stalwart warriors but good soldiers; and their European generals, Avitabile and Court, had not only accustomed them to move with precision and certainty, but had taught them the value of artillery-fire, and when and how to use it. Their guns were of heavy calibre and well served. Altogether an enemy whom a prudent antagonist would have approached with caution, and against whom he would have employed all the resources of strategy. But Gough, though one of the bravest of men, and an officer with some experience of war, possessed few, if any, of the qualifications of a great general, and relied for victory on the endurance and irresistible courage of his troops.

Battle of Firozshah, December 21, 1845.

On the 19th and 20th the British enjoyed a well-earned rest in their camp; reinforcements came in, consisting of the 29th and the 1st European, and the 11th and 41st native infantry, with two heavy guns; and a summons was sent to Sir John Littler to join, with as many troops as could be spared from the defence of Firozpur. He arrived on the 21st, with 5000 infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and 21 field-guns, and joined the main army, which was advancing to drive the enemy from their position at Firozshah.¹ The Sikhs had entrenched themselves behind earthworks, which took the form of a parallelogram, about a mile long by half a mile broad, enclosing the village of Firozshah, the longer or eastern side facing towards Firozpur and the plain, the shorter sides towards the Sutlaj and Mudki respectively. Here, under the command of Lal Singh, were assembled about 40,000 fighting men, with 100 guns and 250 camel-swivels, while the batteries were mounted with heavy siege-guns. The British force mustered 16,700 men with 69 guns, chiefly horse-artillery.

An immediate attack was decided upon; but for some unexplained reason a delay of more than three hours took place, so that the day was rapidly declining before the order to

¹ *Firozshah* (or Phaur Shahr), battlefield, lat. 30° 53' N., long. 74° 49' E., about 12 miles from E. bank of the Sutlaj.

advance was given. Sir Hugh Gough led the right wing, Sir John Littler the centre, and Sir Henry Hardinge, who had waived the privilege of his rank to serve as second in command, took charge of the left wing. The British army moved forward with the cool and steady courage characteristic of our soldiers—and seldom more needed than on the field they were now contesting—under a tremendous cannonade from a hundred guns, which tore large gaps in their ranks, our lighter artillery failing to silence the terrible Sikh batteries. Unflinchingly facing the crash of shot and shell, these matchless regiments maintained their swift but orderly march, until they threw themselves upon the guns with a vehemence that would not be denied. But when the batteries were partially within their grip, such a withering fire of musketry broke upon them that at some points they were compelled to fall back, and retained only a portion of the entrenchments. Still they preserved their dauntless front. “Night fell,” wrote Sir Hugh, “while the conflict was everywhere raging. Although I now brought up Major-General Sir Harry Smith’s division, and he captured and long retained another point of the position; and her Majesty’s 3rd light dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things the long night wore away.”

It was an awful night, for our soldiers were barely masters of the ground on which they stood. They had no reserve to sustain their efforts, while the Sikhs had behind them a second army, and could renew the fight with increased numbers. “It was the most extraordinary of my life,” wrote Sir Henry Hardinge. “I bivouacked with the men, without food or covering, and our nights are bitter cold. A burning camp in our front, our brave fellows lying down under a heavy cannonade, which continued during the whole night, mixed with the wild cries of the Sikhs, our English hurrah, the tramp of men, and

the groans of the dying. In this state, with a handful of men who had carried the batteries the night before, I remained till morning, taking my short intervals of rest by lying down with various regiments in succession, to ascertain their temper and revive their spirits. . . . My answer to all and every man was, that we must fight it out, attack the enemy vigorously at day-break, beat him, or die honourably on the field."

Sir Henry's services on this memorable occasion were conspicuous. Near the middle of the night one of the enemy's guns was advanced, and played upon our troops with damaging effect. The Governor-General immediately formed the 80th foot and the 1st European light infantry. They were led to the attack by their commanding officers. The gun was captured, and the enemy, dismayed by this counter-check, ventured no farther forward. Throughout the night, however, they continued to harass our weary troops by artillery-fire, whenever the moonlight revealed their position. "From the intervals between the European infantry regiments and the native brigades with them being left vacant, there was," says Macgregor, "no possibility of forming a line or acting in concert; portions of one regiment got mixed up with those of another in the entrenchment, and in the darkness of the night could not regain their respective positions. If a regiment had attempted to move right or left in search of another, the Sikh guns were sure to be directed to the spot, and where the 80th bivouacked, Sir Harry Smith, with admirable prudence, forbade a shot to be fired in return. The white covers were taken off the caps, which served as marks for the enemy, and every means adopted for keeping the men out of the hostile fire. The gallant soldiers, who had at the point of the bayonet captured the batteries of the Sikhs, were thus glad to actually conceal themselves under the darkness of night. It was not flight, but as near an approach to it as can well be conceived; and no wonder if, at this time, the Governor-General of India felt the precarious position of the troops. Never in the annals of warfare in India had matters attained such a threatening crisis."

With daylight on the 22nd the action was resumed. Our

infantry formed line, supported on both flanks by horse-artillery, whilst a vigorous fire was opened from our centre by such of our heavy guns as remained effective, assisted by a flight of rockets. Sir Henry placed himself at the head of the left wing, while Sir Hugh rode at the head of the right, and, unchecked by the enemy's cannonade, our infantry advanced with a resolute front, driving the enemy irresistibly out of their encampment and the village; then wheeling round to the left, they swept along the entire position, until it was clear of every foe except the dead and dying. The line then halted suddenly as if on a review-ground, receiving its two generals with a British hurrah, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army. The result of the two days' action was that the army had become masters of the whole field and captured upwards of 73 pieces of cannon. But as they were looking forward to the rest and repose which they had so bravely earned, the arms and accoutrements of a new enemy shone through the cloud of dust which rolled up from the plain. Tej Singh, who had been defeated at Mudki, had rallied his defeated force, and gathered in some fresh battalions in the neighbourhood of Firozpur, so that he mustered fully 20,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry with 70 guns. He drove in our cavalry pickets, and made a strenuous but unsuccessful effort to regain the position of Firozshah. The effort, later on, was renewed with more troops and a tremendous artillery-fire. He began by a combination against the British left, and when this was defeated, made a demonstration against the captured village, which compelled us to change our whole front to the right. His guns, meanwhile, kept up an incessant and most furious fire, while the British supplies of ammunition having been exhausted in the two days' contest, we were unable to reply with a single shot. Our cavalry was ordered to prepare to threaten him on both flanks, while the infantry advanced in support, when he suddenly ceased his fire and withdrew from the field.

The terrible character of this dubious victory is shown by the heavy list of casualties; 694 killed and 1721 wounded, or 2415 in all, equal to about a seventh of the whole force

engaged. There is no means of arriving at an exact knowledge of the Sikh losses, but they have been estimated at 2000 killed and 5000 to 6000 wounded. Such computations are necessarily guesses ; but it seems reasonable to believe that, in comparison with the British loss, that of the Sikhs would be three to one. They retired, however, slowly, and in excellent order, across the Sutlaj ; and Sir Hugh Gough did not venture to pursue them until Sir John Grey arrived from Meerut with reinforcements and a powerful battering-train. Encouraged by this delay, which they conceived to be the effect of fear or irresolution, the Sikhs prepared to re-cross the river, and began the construction of a bridge of boats a little below Huriki ; while Ranjur Singh, at the head of 10,000 Sikhs, crossed at Phillaur and threatened Ludhiana, which was held by Brigadier Godby with only three battalions of native infantry. Sir Harry Smith, with four regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and eighteen guns, was immediately dispatched to its relief.

Battle of Aliwal, January 28, 1846.

We marched out of camp on the 17th of January, and took the Ludhiana road ; but received intelligence on the 21st that Ranjur Singh had, on the preceding day, advanced to Buddawal, which was about eight miles distant. Sir Henry concluded that if he diverged to the right, so as to leave the Sikhs about three miles away on his left, he might effect a junction with the Ludhiana brigade unmolested. As he drew near Buddawal, however, he discovered that Ranjur Singh was also in motion, evidently intending to block the British advance ; but not being strong enough to give battle, he moved still farther to the right, halting his cavalry for the infantry to close up, their march having been retarded by the difficult nature of the country. The Sikhs continued to press upon him, and opened their guns on the British troopers, who sheltered themselves as well as they could among the sandhills, while the guns of the brigade replied to those of the Sikhs, and kept them in check. The infantry at length came up, and Sir Harry Smith was on the point of challenging a general action, when it was discovered that the Sikhs had turned the

left flank of the British with some guns, unperceived, which soon begun to harass the rear of the column. Finding his men weary with a long march, the general abandoned his intention of attacking, and reforming his ranks, resumed the march to Ludhiana, the rear being splendidly covered by the cavalry under Brigadier Cureton. Most of the baggage and the artillery-carts fell, however, into the hands of the Sikhs, and the British had to lament the loss of 69 killed and 68 wounded.

The junction of the Ludhiana garrison and the arrival of General Wheeler's brigade, which had been sent to reinforce him, raised Sir Harry Smith's strength to about 10,000 men with 32 guns; and he moved out in search of the enemy. Ranjur Singh was nothing loth, for he, too, had received reinforcements, and was at the head of 20,000 men with 64 guns and a large force of cavalry. He was confident of victory, and advanced to meet his adversary. On the 28th, when the British came in sight of them, they were drawn up close to the village of Aliwal,¹ their right wing occupying a ridge and their left resting on their entrenched camp close to the river-bank, and covered by the village.

After some preliminary manœuvres, executed with admirable celerity and precision, the British line advanced, but had scarcely moved forward 150 yards when, at ten o'clock, the enemy opened a fierce cannonade along his whole front. At first his balls fell short, but he soon got the correct range. Being better able to ascertain his position, Sir Harry halted his line, though under fire, for a few moments, while he surveyed the ground; and at once concluded that by carrying the village of Aliwal he should be free to throw his whole strength on the enemy's left and centre. Throwing forward a couple of brigades, he had the satisfaction of seeing them drive the Sikhs pell-mell from the village, capturing two guns. A general advance having been commanded, both armies were desperately engaged over the entire field. A succession of three brilliant cavalry charges right into the mass of the Sikhs completely dis-

¹ *Aliwal*, lat. 30° 57' N., long. 75° 37' E.; village on left bank of the Sutlaj; 9 miles W. of Ludhiana.

organised them, and they fled across the Sutlaj, yielding as the spoils of victory their camp and baggage, their grain and ammunition, and 52 guns. Such a victory over such a foe was won necessarily at considerable cost, and the list of casualties showed 151 killed, 413 wounded, and 25 missing. The slaughter of the Sikhs was terrific, for as they huddled across the ford and into the boats, the British 8-inch howitzers opened upon them with startling effect.

This defeat produced a deep impression on the Sikh chiefs; and Gholab Singh, Raja of Jammu, whom they called to their councils, reproached them bitterly for their folly in crossing swords with the great "John Company." He entered at once into negotiations with the Governor-General, who expressed his readiness to recognise a Sikh ruler at Lahore if the Khalsa army were disbanded. While the Punjab was in the hands of a purely military confederacy, it was hopeless to expect that the British territories would be secure from invasion. Gholab Singh replied that neither he nor his fellow-chiefs had any control over the Khalsa, which indeed controlled the state. And it is alleged by Captain Cunningham that, as the result of a further interchange of views, it was agreed that the Sikh chiefs should abandon the army to its fate, and, after it had been crushed by the British, should throw open to them the road to Lahore.¹

Battle of Sobraon,² February 10, 1846.

The Khalsa warriors meanwhile had entrenched themselves in a strong position on the east bank of the river Sutlaj, under the direction, it is said, of a Spanish engineer named Hobson. The river formed the base of a series of semicircular earthworks, the outer line of which, measuring two miles and a half in extent from east to west, was protected by a deep ditch. The ramparts were armed with 67 heavy guns, and manned by 30,000 troops of all arms. A bridge of boats connected

¹ The story is incredible, and was flatly contradicted by Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Hardinge.

² *Sobraon*, battlefield on E. bank of Sutlaj river, opposite village of same name, in lat. 31° 7' N., and long. 74° 54' E.

the camp with a fortified post across the river, which was also armed with heavy guns. Tej Singh was in command; Lal Singh had charge of the cavalry, which lay higher up the river. For seven weeks these formidable works had been in course of construction; and it is difficult to understand why the British general allowed them to proceed without molestation. Something might have been done to harass the enemy and retard their labours, even though Sir Harry Smith's division had not joined nor the heavy ordnance come up from Delhi. At length, on February 20th, Sir Hugh Gough drew his force out of camp to fight the decisive battle on which the issue of the campaign depended. He saw before him a gallant army of 5000 European and 10,000 native soldiers, men inured to war, fully sensible of the critical task which lay before them, and resolute to accomplish it with full success. He massed them in three divisions, with the left under General Sir Robert Dick, the centre under General Gilbert, and the right under Sir Harry Smith. On reconnoitring the Sikh position, the commander-in-chief had satisfied himself that if either end of the works were carried, the batteries along the outer line would be taken in reverse and thereby rendered useless. The right was known to be the weaker; and General Dick, whose division was the strongest, was ordered to deliver an attack in full force, while the enemy's attention on the left and centre was distracted by demonstrations.

It had been intended that the British battering-train and field-artillery, which was planted in an extended semicircle so as to comprehend the whole position of the Sikhs within the range of its fire, should begin to cannonade at daybreak, but the plain and river were shrouded in so dense a fog that the attack was delayed until the sun rose upon the scene, and the fog clearing away, revealed the two armies to one another, grimly awaiting the awful struggle. The British artillery opened fire with stern determination, the Sikh guns quickly responded, and death soon claimed its victims.

"About nine o'clock," says the commander-in-chief, "Brigadier Stacy's brigade, supported on either flank by Captains Horsford and Stacy's batteries and Lieutenant-Colonel Lane's troop of horse-artillery, moved to the attack in admirable

order. The infantry and guns aided each other correlatively. The former marched steadily on in line, which they halted only to correct when necessary. The latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until at length they were within 300 yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs; but notwithstanding the regularity, and coolness, and scientific character of this assault, which Brigadier Wilkinson well supported, so hot was the fire of cannon, musketry, and zumboorucks [camel-swivels] kept up by the Khalsa troops, that it seemed for some moments impossible that the entrenchments could be won under it; but soon persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the satisfaction of seeing the gallant Brigadier Stacy's soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampment. The 18th foot, now for the first time brought into serious contact with the enemy, greatly distinguished themselves. This regiment never fired a shot till it got within the works of the enemy. The onset of her Majesty's 53rd foot was as gallant and effective. The 43rd and 59th native infantry, brigaded with them, emulated both in cool determination. At the moment of this first success I directed Brigadier the Hon. T. Ashburnham's brigade to move on in support, and Major-General Gilbert's and Sir Harry Smith's divisions to throw out their light troops to threaten their works, aided by artillery. As these attacks of the right and centre commenced, the fire of our heavy guns had first to be directed to the right and then gradually to cease, but at one time the thunder of full a hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance reverberated in this mighty combat through the valley of the Sutlaj; and as it was soon seen that the weight of the whole force within the Sikh camp was likely to be thrown upon the two brigades that had passed its trenches, it became necessary to convert into close and serious attacks the demonstrations with skirmishes and artillery of the centre and right, and the battle raged with inconceivable fury from right to left.

"The Sikhs, even when at particular points their entrenchments were mastered with the bayonet, strove to regain them by the fiercest conflict, sword in hand. Nor was it until the cavalry of the left, under Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, had moved forward and ridden through the openings of the

entrenchments made by our sappers in single file, and re-formed as they passed them, and the 3rd dragoons, whom no obstacle usually held formidable by horse appears to check, had on this day, as at Firozshah, galloped over and cut down the obstinate defenders of batteries and field-works, and until the full weight of these divisions of infantry, with every field-artillery gun that could be sent to their aid, had been cast into the scale, that victory finally declared for the British. The fire of the Sikhs first slackened, and then nearly ceased, and the victors then pressing them on every side, precipitated them in masses over their bridge and into the Sutlaj, which a sudden rise of seven inches had rendered hardly fordable. In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deepened water they suffered from our horse-artillery a terrible carnage. Hundreds fell under this cannonade ; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the early part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mutilating every wounded soldier whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy. I must pause in this narrative especially to notice the determined hardihood and bravery with which our two battalions of Ghoorkas, the Saimous and Nusseri, met the Sikhs wherever they were opposed to them. Soldiers of small stature but indomitable spirit, they vied in ardent courage in the charge with the grenadiers of our own nation, and, armed with the short weapons of their mountains, were a terror to the Sikhs throughout this great combat. Sixty-seven pieces of cannon, upwards of 200 camel-swivels, numerous standards, and vast munitions of war, captured by our troops, are the pledges and trophies of our victory."

In this great battle victory was wrested from the Sikhs at the cost of 320 killed and 2083 wounded. To compute the Sikh loss is impossible ; practically the Khalsa army ceased to be. No attempt at further resistance was offered when the British threw a bridge across the Sutlaj, and six regiments that same night entered the Punjab and encamped on its soil. Two days later, the whole British army and its immense train

of camp-followers, altogether 100,000 souls, together with 68,000 animals and 40 guns, passed the river in perfect security. On the 12th the British flag was hoisted on the ramparts of the fortress of Kumar. This was followed by a proclamation from the Governor-General, in which he said:—"Military operations against the Government and the army of the Lahore state have not been undertaken by the Government of India from any desire of territorial aggrandisement. The Governor-General, as announced in the proclamation of the 13th of December, 'sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh Government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army and to protect its subjects.' The sincerity of those professions is proved by the fact that no preparations for hostilities had been made, when the Lahore Government suddenly, and without a pretext of complaint, invaded the British territories. The unprovoked aggression has compelled the British Government to have recourse to arms and to organise the means of offensive warfare, and whatever may now befall the Lahore state, the consequences can alone be attributed to the misconduct of that Government and its army. No extension of territory was desired by the Government of India; the measures necessary for providing indemnity for the past and security for the future will, however, involve the retention by the British Government of a portion of the country hitherto under the government of the Lahore state. The extent of territory which it may be deemed advisable to hold will be determined by the conduct of the Durbar, and by considerations for the security of the British frontier. The Government of India will, under any circumstances, annex to the British provinces the districts, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Sutlaj and Beas, the revenues thereof being appropriated as a part of the indemnity required from the Lahore state."

On the 17th the infant Maharaja, Dhulip Singh, arrived in the British camp and made his submission. The army still continued its unopposed advance upon the capital, and on the 20th encamped on the plain of Mian Mir, in front of it, the citadel being occupied by a British garrison. Here the Governor-General imposed on the Sikh Durbar a treaty of

sixteen articles, which confiscated all the Sikh territories on the left bank of the Sutlaj, and also the whole tract of the Jalindar Doab, between the right bank of the Sutlaj and the Beas, stipulated for an indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees (£1,500,000), the half or fifty lakhs to be paid immediately, and the crore to be discharged by the cession, as an equivalent, of "all the hill country between the Beas and the Indus, including Kashmir and Huzareh;" and while insisting on the disbandment of the mutinous Khalsa, limited the Lahore army of the future to twenty-five battalions of infantry, each of 800 bayonets, and 12,000 cavalry. A further treaty was concluded with Gholab Singh (March 16), by which the British Government transferred to him the province of Kashmir and the highlands of Sammoo in consideration of a payment of 75 lakhs of rupees. The Lahore Durbar, afraid of the consequences of disbanding the troops who had hitherto been its masters, solicited the protection of a British force, which, after some hesitation, was conceded. Major Henry Lawrence was appointed British Resident, and Lal Singh became Wazir, or prime minister. Then the Governor-General quitted the capital of the Punjab, and a stately procession of 250 captured guns, escorted by a large force of infantry and cavalry, rolled onwards from Lahore to Calcutta, in eloquent demonstration of victorious war.

The news of the successful issue of this formidable campaign was received in England with great enthusiasm. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were unanimously voted to the commanders and soldiers of the army of the Punjab. Peerages were conferred both on Sir Henry Hardinge¹ and Sir Hugh Gough, and Sir Harry Smith received a baronetcy.

The year 1847 was a year of peace for India, and was utilised by Viscount Hardinge for accomplishing numerous valuable reforms, in all of which his practical good sense, moderation, and enlightened sympathy were very conspicuous. He laboured with success in the extension of education, and endeavoured to impress the natives of India with the convic-

¹ He was created Viscount Hardinge of Lahore and of King's Newton in the county of Derby, with a pension of £3000 a year for three lives. The East India Company also settled an annuity upon him.

tion that the public service would be open to such as duly qualified themselves for employment. He removed a reproach from Christianity in the popular mind by prohibiting Sunday labour on the part of the Christian community. He took active steps to improve the financial position of the Government, and firmly checked extravagant expenditure. The erection of public works and the construction of railways enjoyed his sympathetic attention. In a word, he proved himself a sagacious and efficient administrator, and was daily commanding a larger amount of affectionate respect, when he unexpectedly announced his resignation. Retiring from office in January 1848, he was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie.

On his return to England he took no very active part in public affairs until, in February 1852, he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, and on the 28th of December in the same year succeeded the Duke of Wellington as commander-in-chief of the British army. In 1855 he was honoured with a field-marshal's baton. It was his fortune to preside over the army during the period of the Crimean War; but for the errors and defects of organisation which that war so vividly exposed he could not be held responsible, and the more serious mistakes were probably due to the uncertain policy of the Government, and the weakness of a system which had undergone little alteration since the days of Waterloo. When the Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the Crimean expedition had completed its labours, it fell to Lord Hardinge to present the report to the Queen at Aldershot, and on this occasion (July 7, 1856) he was seized with a severe attack of paralysis. He was immediately removed to London, where, under medical supervision, he rallied from its gravest effects, but it was evident that his public career had closed, and he hastened to resign the responsible office of commander-in-chief. Then he retired to his pleasant and tranquil home at Penshurst, where he died on the 23rd of September, aged seventy-one, deplored by all who had had the happiness of knowing him intimately, and greatly respected by his countrymen. He was a man of spotless honour and unimpeachable probity, who, by his long, arduous, and successful labours, had "deserved well of the republic."



CHAPTER X.

LORD DALHOUSIE, 1848-1856.

The Second Sikh War—The Annexation Policy.

JAMES ANDREW BROWN RAMSAY, tenth Earl of Dalhousie, was born at Dalhousie Castle, near Edinburgh, in 1812; educated at Oxford, and succeeded his father, an experienced and successful soldier, in 1838. A brilliant university career had pointed him out as a young man capable of doing good service to the state; but though he had acquitted himself with distinction as Vice-President and afterwards President of the Board of Trade in Sir Robert Peel's administration,—had given evidence of more than ordinary business ability, of great clearness of judgment and force of character,—it was something of a surprise to the general public when, on the resignation of Lord Hardinge, he was appointed Governor-General of India. His career, however, more than justified Sir Robert Peel's choice; the responsibilities which his high office imposed upon him brought out all the finest qualities of his genius; and by the comprehensiveness and boldness of his policy, as well as by the resolution, skill, and success with which it was carried out, he achieved a reputation second only to that of the greatest of his predecessors.

Though he is chiefly known, perhaps, by what was stigmatised as his "annexation policy," and by the vast acquisitions of territory which our Indian Empire made under his rule, his real title to fame is to be found in the immense stimulus he applied to the moral and material advancement of the country, and in the magnitude of the reforms which he accomplished. He founded the Public Works Department of the Government,

in order to promote the construction on a well-defined principle of the roads, railways, and canals which now provide every part of India with facilities of intercommunication. He opened the Ganges Canal, the largest work of the kind of which India can boast. He turned the sod of the first Indian railway; and the railway system of India as it now exists was virtually his creation. He encouraged steam communication with England by the Red Sea route; he introduced cheap postage and the electric telegraph; and the administrative work which developed the resources and secured the tranquillity of the conquered Punjab and British Burma was instituted by his fertile and far-seeing intellect. When he resigned office, a great public authority thus summed up his achievements:—"He can point to railways planned on an enormous scale, and partly commenced; to 4000 miles of electric telegraph spread over India, at an expense of little more than £50 a mile; to 2000 miles of road, bridged and metalled, near the whole distance from Calcutta to Peshawar; to the opening of the Ganges Canal, the largest of the kind in the world; to the progress of the Punjab Canal, and of many other important works of irrigation all over India, as well as to the re-organisation of our official department of Public Works. Keeping equal pace with these public works, he could refer to the postal system, which he introduced in imitation of that of Rowland Hill, whereby a letter from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, or from Assam to Karachi, is conveyed for $\frac{3}{4}$ d., or one-sixteenth of the old charge; to the improved training ordained for the civil service, covenanted and uncovenanted; to the improvement of education and prison discipline; to the organisation of the Legislative Council; to the reforms which it had decreed, such as permitting Hindu widows to marry again, and relieving all persons from the risk of forfeiting property by a change of religion." The historian, enumerating this remarkable series of beneficial reforms, is compelled to admit that while "no other Governor-General since the time of Lord Wellesley had ruled India with such splendid success from the military and political point of view," so, too, no other Governor-

General since the days of Warren Hastings had effected so much for the improvement of its internal organisation.

The Second Sikh War, 1848-1849.

But before he could enter upon any of these pacific achievements, he was called upon to deal with the troubled condition of the Punjab, where the attempt at a Sikh protectorate had hopelessly collapsed. Lal Singh, who had been appointed prime minister, proved unworthy of the trust; and having been detected in acts of gross treachery, was removed from office, deported to British territory, and, with a monthly pension of 2000 rupees, allowed to sink into obscurity. In December 1846, a new form of government was created, by which the affairs of the state passed, during the minority of the young Maharaja, into the hands of a Council of Regency, consisting of eight Sikh chiefs, under the control of the British Resident, Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Lawrence, who was to possess "unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relations." That is, he became king of the Punjab—a king with despotic power, which he exercised, however, solely for the good of his subjects. "Looking back on our regency," he wrote, in after-life, "my chief regrets are that we did so much. I and my assistants laboured zealously for the good of the country and the good of the people of all ranks, but we were ill supported by a venal and selfish Durbar, and were therefore gradually obliged to come forward more than I wished, and to act directly when I desired to do so only by advice, as honestly anxious to prepare the Durbar to manage the country themselves. The basis of our arrangements, however, was, first, the reduction of the army to the lowest number required to defend the frontier and preserve internal peace, and to pay that army punctually; second, to strike off the most obnoxious taxes, and, as far as possible, to equalise and moderate the assessment of the country, and ensure what was collected reaching the public treasury; thirdly, to have a *very* simple code of laws, founded on the Sikh customs, reduced to writing, and administered by the most respectable men from their own ranks."

For some time the labours of Lawrence and his associates were crowned with success. But not the less a good deal of discontent was seething among the people, whose religious fanaticism resented the removal of the disabilities which had been imposed upon the hated Muhammadans, and the withdrawal of the prohibition against the killing of kine ; while the disbanded Khalsa soldiery in every village eagerly waited for the hour and the man—the hour when and the man under whom—they might fight for the recovery of their former power. Early in 1848 Lawrence's health compelled him to pay a visit to England, and he was succeeded at Lahore by Sir Frederick Currie, during whose administration an outbreak took place, a spark having ignited the accumulated materials of treachery, insubordination, and discontent. To the south of Lahore lies the fortified town of Multan,¹ the capital of a large district which lies between the Indus and the Sutlaj. In 1829 both town and district were made over by Ranjit Singh to the famous Sawan Mull, under whose firm iron rule they flourished exceedingly. In September 1844 he was shot by a soldier while sitting in durbar. His son Mulraj succeeded to the governorship, whereupon Lal Singh, the Wazir, demanded a nuggur or succession fee of a crore of rupees. Mulraj resisted the exaction, and Lal Singh eventually agreed to take eighteen lakhs, which, however, Mulraj did not pay until warned by the British Resident. The constant extortion practised by the Lahore Council at length exhausted Mulraj's patience, and he resigned his governorship. The resignation was gladly accepted, and in March 1848 Khan Singh was sent to Multan, accompanied by Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson as British representatives. Their escort consisted of 350 Ghurkhas, with a few guns, much too small a force to coerce a discontented city.

On the 18th of April they reached Multan, and encamped at the Edgah, a fortified temple just outside the walls. Next morning Mulraj was admitted to an interview in order to arrange the terms on which he was to surrender his governorship.

¹ *Multan*, lat. 30° 12' N., long. 70° 30' E. ; four miles from the present left bank of the Chenab ; population, 68,674.

These, as laid down by the British officials, irritated him beyond his self-control; but he seemed to have regained his composure when, on the 20th, he attended them on their visits of inspection to the various establishments. Before entering the citadel, he requested them to dismiss a portion of their escort, though at the same time he avoided diminishing his own guard. The officers received the keys, put two Ghurkha companies into possession, placed their own sentries, and after seeking to appease the obvious discontent of the discarded garrison by promises of service, prepared to return. They were riding across the bridge, when one of Mulraj's soldiers, who was standing on it, rushed at Mr. Agnew, knocked him off his horse with his spear, and inflicted two severe wounds on his head. Before the assassin could complete his work he was tumbled into the ditch by a trooper of the escort. Mulraj, instead of interfering, put spurs to his horse and galloped away to his residence of Am Khus, outside the fort. Lieutenant Anderson was then dragged from his horse by some of Mulraj's personal attendants, and wounded so severely that he was left for dead, until he was found by some of the Ghurkhas and carried in a litter to the Edgah. Next morning the big guns of the citadel opened upon the Edgah, and the Ghurkhas replied with their light field-pieces. Mr. Vans Agnew sent a message to Mulraj to summon him to their assistance, but he replied that "all the garrison, Hindu and Muhammadan, were in rebellion, and that the British officers had better see to their own safety." Had their Ghurkha escort proved faithful, the wounded officers would probably have held their own until relief arrived from Lahore, but they were persuaded to betray their masters and throw open the gates. In rushed the mob and the soldiery, who made Khan Singh prisoner and brutally murdered the two Englishmen. Their heads were carried to Mulraj, and then flung to the ants, filled with gunpowder, and blown to atoms. Mulraj had by this time thrown in his lot with the insurgents, and taking possession of the fort, he proclaimed a religious war against the Feringhis.

The Resident at Lahore, on receiving information of this disaster, was at first inclined to dispatch a Sikh force to punish

the leaders of what he supposed to be a mere local outbreak ; but tidings soon reached him of the rapid spread of the insurrection, and he perceived that a Sikh force was not to be trusted. He accordingly wrote to Lord Gough, the commander-in-chief, to suggest the immediate advance of the British column then at Lahore ; but the general replied that "operations against Multan at so late a period of the year would be uncertain, if not altogether impracticable, while a delay in attaining the object would entail a fearful loss of life to the troops engaged, most injurious in its moral effects, and highly detrimental to those future operations which must, I apprehend, be undertaken." Though the same view was taken by the Governor-General in Council, there can be no doubt that the delay was a grave political error, and that it allowed the revolt to spread throughout the Punjab, when by prompt action it might have been confined to a limited area and quickly crushed out.

Something, however, was attempted and achieved by a young military officer. Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, who was engaged in the revenue settlement of Bunnú, across the Indus, was at Dera Futteh Khan when, on the morning of the 22nd of April, he received an urgent summons from Mr. Vans Agnew to hasten to his assistance. Mustering his little army of a regiment of infantry and 350 sowars, with two guns and twenty camel-swivels, he prepared to cross the Indus at Leia and march with all speed upon Multan, a distance of ninety miles. He wrote at the same time to General Van Cortlandt, an officer in the Sikh service, for a regiment of infantry and four guns, and to the Nawab of Bhawalpur, requesting him to cross the Sutlaj and threaten Multan. Finding by an intercepted letter that he could not rely upon his own men, he halted at Leia to wait the arrival of General Cortlandt, while he raised recruits among the Afghans, who had no feelings in common with the Sikhs. While he was thus engaged he learned that Mulraj had crossed the Chenab with 5000 men and eight heavy guns, and was advancing against him. Therefore he recrossed the Indus and marched to Girang, where, on the 4th of May, he was joined by General Von Cortlandt, their united

forces amounting to about 4800 men, of whom about 800 were not trustworthy. Cortlandt having received orders to move southward for the protection of the revenue collectors, Mulraj dispatched a large force to intercept him ; but Edwardes, marching fifty miles in twenty-four hours, rejoined him before the attack was delivered, and the two commanders inflicted on the Sikhs a severe chastisement. Edwardes then hastened to the assistance of the Nawab of Bhawalpur, whose army he found in a mutinous and disorganised condition. With characteristic energy he was taking steps to restore discipline, when Rung Ram, Mulraj's brother-in-law, attacked him at Kineyri with 18,000 men and ten guns. The state of affairs in the Bhawalpur force may be inferred from Edwardes's description of an incident which took place at the opening of the battle.

He had inquired for the Bhawalpur general, Futteh Mahmud Khan, and was directed to a large peepul tree, round which a crowd was assembled. He galloped to the spot, and looking over the shoulders of the people, saw a little old man sitting under the tree with a rosary in his hand, the beads of which he was rapidly telling, and muttering in a peevish helpless manner, "*Uthumdoolillah! Uthumdoolillah!*" (God be praised ! God be praised !), apparently quite abstracted from the scene around him, and utterly unconscious that six-pounders were crashing through the branches, that officers were imploring him for orders, and that 8000 or 9000 rebels were burning to destroy the army of which he was the nominal commander. His attendants had to shake him before he could comprehend that Major Edwardes had arrived, and as he rose and tottered forward, looking vacantly in the Englishman's face, it was clear that excitement had completed the imbecility of his years, and that nothing was to be expected from him in the way either of counsel or action. The control of the battle passed, therefore, into the hands of Herbert Edwardes, who, a born soldier, though with little experience of war, so disposed his troops that he was able to hold his ground until Van Cortlandt came up, when the two commanders assumed the offensive, and drove the Sikhs back upon Multan with a loss of eight guns and probably of 900 or 1000 killed and wounded.

Vigorous of mind and body, and gifted with a faculty of keen perception, Edwardes saw how much was to be gained by the capture of Multan, and applied for reinforcements from Lahore with which to begin the siege. Mulraj, however, was by no means inclined to be shut up in his fort, and resolved to risk another general action. He advanced against Edwardes, therefore, with a picked force of 11,000 soldiers and 11 guns, and attacked him at Suddusam on the 1st of July. The day was obstinately contested, but at length the British prevailed and the Sikhs took to flight, Mulraj the foremost of the fugitives, and never drawing rein until he was within the lines of Multan.

Encouraged by these successes, Sir Frederick Currie directed General Whish to proceed with his brigade of infantry, 7000 strong, and 34 guns, to the investment of Multan. While he was completing preparations for this expedition, which the Governor-General somewhat reluctantly sanctioned, Edwardes entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of the city with 13,500 infantry and 6000 cavalry (including the Bhawalpur contingent), and was joined by a Sikh army of 900 infantry and 3300 cavalry under Raja Sher Singh. The disaffection of the Sikhs, however, was notorious, and Edwardes found it an arduous duty to watch their camp lest they should be guilty of some sudden act of perfidy. Whish started from Lahore on the 24th of July, but though he enjoyed the advantage of water carriage for his supplies, he spent nine-and-thirty days in effecting a march of 220 miles. This extraordinary delay enabled Mulraj to increase his army and strengthen his defences, erecting an enormous mud wall, which embraced the circuit of the entire city. He placed his chief reliance, however, on his fort, which was one of the strongest and most regular works ever constructed by native engineers. Within a broad deep ditch, faced with masonry, rose a rampart 40 feet high, armed with 52 guns, and manned by 2000 soldiers. The city was garrisoned by 12,000 men.

The siege was opened at daylight on September 7th. The first parallel was constructed at the unusual distance of 1600 yards, but the besiegers soon pushed their works in advance,

and on the 12th, in order to clear the ground, attacked Mulraj's outworks with immense spirit, and eventually carried them after much strenuous fighting. The effect of this brilliant little action was to bring the besiegers within battering distance of the walls of the city, and they were counting on its speedy capture, when Sher Singh justified the suspicions entertained of him by going over to Mulraj with all his troops and artillery (September 16th). This wholesale defection so weakened the investing force that General Whish thought it prudent to raise the siege and retire to a secure position at Tibbi, in the neighbourhood of the river, to await the arrival of reinforcements.

Sher Singh and Mulraj were by no means disposed to place implicit confidence in each other, and an agreement was arrived at by virtue of which, on receiving a large sum of money, Sher Singh quitted Multan on the 9th of October to become the leader of a holy war, summoning all who had eaten the salt of the sovereign of the Khalsa, Dhulip Singh, to join the sacred standard raised by Mulraj and himself, and put every European to death. The insurrection assumed proportions which the Calcutta Government could not fail to understand, and Lord Dalhousie at once brought to bear on the situation the alacrity and masterfulness of his genius. He determined that the Punjab should be subjugated and annexed to the empire, and that the work should be done with all possible dispatch. Troops were hurried forward to the theatre of war, and a numerous and well-equipped army soon assembled at Ferozpur. Meanwhile a column of 7000 men was dispatched from Bombay to reinforce General Whish, who resumed the siege of Multan on the 17th of September, and after a formidable bombardment carried the city by assault on the 2nd of January 1849. The citadel was next invested, and the approaches were so rapidly pushed forward that General Whish prepared to storm it on the morning of the 22nd. On the previous day Mulraj surrendered. He was afterwards tried at Lahore, found guilty of treason, and sentenced to be hanged, but the sentence was eventually commuted into banishment beyond seas.

The Sikhs meanwhile made active preparations to meet the formidable hostility they had provoked. Chutter Singh, the

father of Sher Singh, and one of the most powerful of the Sikh chiefs, concluded an alliance with the Afghan Amir, Dost Muhammad, to whom he promised in return the province of Peshawar.¹ Sher Singh himself, after making a demonstration against Lahore, moved westward, and was joined by the military force of Bunnu, consisting of four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and six troops of horse-artillery, who had mutinied and murdered their officers. Throughout the Punjab the priests of the new religion used every possible incentive to kindle into a blaze the warrior-enthusiasm of the disciples of Govind, who were assured that the triumph of the Khalsa was at hand, and they would be delivered from the yoke of the Feringhi unbelievers.

The British army assembled at Firozpur comprised four British and eleven native regiments of infantry, three British and five native regiments of cavalry, and five corps of irregular horse, with 60 field-guns, eight howitzers, and two 18-pounders. On the morning of November 16th Lord Gough crossed the Ravi, and advanced towards the Chenab, where, at Ramnagar,² about a mile and a half from the river-bank, Sher Singh was posted with 30,000 men. Here a bend of the river is divided by a small island into two channels, the one on the left bank, except in the rainy season, being little more than a dry nullah with a thin fordable stream, while the other, on the right, is both deep and wide. Now the main body of the Sikhs was encamped on the right bank, its front covered by 28 heavy guns; but the enemy also occupied the island, and was known to have troops and guns on the left bank. These Lord Gough resolved to capture or drive headlong across the river (November 22nd); and therefore he sent forward Brigadier Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde) with a detachment of infantry and cavalry, and three troops of horse-artillery, under Brigadier Cureton. Unfortunately, the ground had been so carelessly

¹ The Sikh troops at Peshawar had revolted on the 24th of October, and made prisoners of Major George Lawrence, the Resident, and Lieutenant Bowie, his assistant. Both were afterwards handed over to Chutter Singh.

² *Ramnagar*, lat. 32° 19' N., long. 73° 50' E.; on the river Chenab; population, 6830.

reconnoitred, that, in following up the enemy, who retired from Ramnagar, the British artillery suddenly found themselves exposed to a hurricane of shot from the batteries on the opposite bank, and were forced to retire, leaving one of their guns and a couple of ammunition waggons deep-sunken in the sandy nullah. The Sikh horsemen in great numbers crossed the river to carry them off as trophies. To avoid this dishonour, Colonel William Havelock, of the 14th dragoons, asked and obtained permission from Lord Gough to charge the Sikhs. Supported by the 5th cavalry, he swept the bank clear with a rush of horse and sweep of sabre, and drove the fugitives down into the river-bed. Here, however, his horses became entangled in the sand, while the Sikh cannon opened upon the party a murderous fire, and saddle after saddle was being emptied, when Brigadier Cureton arrived with orders from Lord Gough to fall back. He had scarcely delivered his message when he fell dead, struck by two matchlock-balls. Colonel Havelock was also killed and Captain Fitzgerald mortally wounded.

Battle of Chilianwala, January 14, 1849.

Finding that it would be difficult to dislodge Sher Singh by an attack in front, Lord Gough resolved to throw a strong division across the river some distance above his position and attempt to turn his left flank. For this purpose he placed 8000 infantry and cavalry, with 30 field-pieces and two heavy guns, under the command of General Sir Joseph Thackwell. During the night of the 1st of December he began his march, and reaching Wazirabad, twenty-four miles up, crossed the Chenab at noon on the 2nd. Having rested and refreshed his men, he descended the river-side toward Sher Singh's camp. Orders to attack on the left, while the main body crossed and delivered an assault in front, reached him at midnight, when his troops were resting; he summoned them to arms, and pushed forward another six miles with eager steps. There arrived fresh instructions from Lord Gough. Boats for the passage of the troops could not be found; but Brigadier Godby would pass the river six miles above Ramnagar to co-operate with him. He immediately secured the ford by which Godby

would have to cross, and then proceeded to serve out rations to his soldiers, who had not broken their fast for some hours. They were thus engaged when, about two in the afternoon, a heavy cannonade began; for Sher Singh had dispatched a large force of Sikhs to overwhelm the column. The British replied with a tremendous artillery-fire, which speedily silenced their guns and compelled them to retire. At nightfall the firing ceased on both sides; and Sher Singh, finding his position untenable under the threefold attack of Lord Gough in front and Thackwell and Godby on his flank, broke up his camp under cover of the darkness, and adroitly removed his army, guns, and stores northward to the Jehlam, where he rapidly entrenched himself and gathered in reinforcements from all quarters, until he found himself at the head of 40,000 men with 62 guns.

Lord Gough having transferred his whole army to the right bank of the Chenab, advanced to the north in pursuit of Sher Singh, but he wasted much valuable time in inexplicable delays, and it was the 12th January 1849 before he arrived at Dingi, in the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy's lines, which, on the right, touched the village of Lukmiwalla, on the centre the village of Lollianwalla, and on the left Russool, on the Jehlam. Finding the ground to be excessively difficult and ill-adapted to the advance of a regular army, he determined to move upon Russool in order to reconnoitre. What he saw convinced him that the Sikhs were strongly entrenched, and instead of pressing forward, he gave orders to prepare ground for encampment that the army might be refreshed. But a volley from some of the Sikh guns awakened the veteran soldier's bellicose temper, and he resolved on immediate battle, notwithstanding that only two hours of daylight remained, that his men were fatigued, and that very little was known of the enemy's actual position.

The order of battle was as follows:—Sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, which Lord Gough strengthened by the 14th light dragoons, as he knew that the enemy was strong in cavalry on the left, and by three troops of horse-artillery. The heavy

guns were in the centre. Brigadier Campbell's division formed the left wing, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry and three troops of horse-artillery. The field-batteries accompanied the infantry divisions.

The troops having been ordered to lie down, the heavy guns opened a powerful fire on the enemy's centre and the light field-batteries on the flanks, but as the Sikhs were covered by the thick jungle, they suffered far less than was supposed. After an hour of this cannonading, Campbell's division advanced, as it had to traverse the larger extent of ground, and was soon afterwards followed by Gilbert's on the right. As the left pressed forward, the two leading officers of the right brigade (Pennycuick's) waved their swords over their heads as they cheered on their gallant comrades. Unfortunately this action was in some way mistaken for the signal to move in double time, and the 24th regiment, without waiting for the native corps to close up, dashed headlong upon the Sikh guns. Received by a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, their ranks were torn into fragments, and they were compelled to retire, leaving on the field full half their number, besides Brigadier Pennycuick and three other field-officers. As they fell back on the native regiments, the latter became disorganised and suffered severely. Brigadier Penny, with the reserve, was ordered up, but Colin Campbell pushed on his left brigade, and formed line to his right, charged the enemy with determination, and speedily dispersed the Sikh battalions which had obtained a temporary advantage over his right brigade.

Gilbert's movement on the right was neither less arduous nor less successful. His division, wrote Lord Gough, nobly maintained the character of the Indian army, taking and spiking the whole of the enemy's guns in their front, and dispersing the Sikhs wherever they encountered them. But not so with the brigade of cavalry. "Either by some order or misapprehension of an order, they got into much confusion, hampered the fine brigade of horse-artillery, which, while getting into action against a body of the enemy's cavalry that was coming down upon them, had their horses separated from their guns by the false movements of our cavalry, and notwithstanding

the heroic conduct of the gunners, four of their guns were disabled to an extent which rendered their withdrawal at the moment impossible.”¹ These the enemy carried off, and along with them five stand of colours. But as soon as the artillery was extricated and the cavalry reformed, the Sikhs were driven back.

At nightfall the action ceased. The British troops maintained their position, and the enemy retired during the night unmolested, carrying with them the captured colours and guns. Chilianwala was not a defeat, but it was far from being a victory; at the most, one may call it a drawn battle. It ought never to have been fought, and it was marked by incidents which still call a blush of shame to the British soldier's cheek. The men were sent forward to almost certain death, their unguarded line, as they advanced, suffering terribly from the

¹ This affair is thus described by Mr. Marshman :—“On the right flank, in prolongation of the infantry, were posted the 14th dragoons, the 9th lancers, and two native cavalry regiments. The troops of artillery attached to the brigade were planted in the rear, and could not therefore open fire from a single gun. This strong cavalry brigade was intrusted to Brigadier Pope, who had been an active officer in his youth, but was now unable to mount his horse without assistance. He was, moreover, of a fanciful and irritable temper, and obstinately wedded to his old-fashioned notions of cavalry manœuvre. He advanced his four regiments forward in a single line, and though the forest was dense, not a skirmisher was sent forward to explore the way, and no reserve or supporting column was provided against temporary reverse. As the line advanced, first at a walk, and then at a trot, it was broken up by trees and clumps of brush-wood into numerous series of small sections, doubled behind each other. In this state of things a small body of Sikh horse, intoxicated with drugs, rushed in a mass upon the centre, wounded the Brigadier, and caused a sensation of terror among the native cavalry which it was found impossible to counteract. Just at this crisis, some one in the ranks of the 14th dragoons, whose name has never been ascertained, uttered the words, ‘Threes about.’ The regiment at once turned to the rear, and moved off in confusion, and, as the Sikh horse pressed on its track, galloped headlong in disgraceful panic through the cannon and waggons posted in its rear, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of its commander, Colonel King, and of the chaplain of the force, the Rev. Mr. Whiting, to rally the fugitives. The Sikh horse entered the ranks of the artillery along with the flying dragoons, and captured four guns. The disgrace of the brigade was irreparable.”

masked batteries concealed among the jungles. Notwithstanding his previous experience of the Sikhs, Lord Gough still undervalued their military qualities, and thought it was enough to let loose at them his fighting men, with bayonet and sabre, to carry off the laurels of victory. The consequence was "a butcher's bill" which amounted to no less a total than 89 officers and 2269 rank and file killed and wounded.¹

When the news of this sanguinary and indecisive conflict reached England, great uneasiness prevailed. Its disastrous character was very generally attributed to the incompetency of the commander, and the public voice demanded that Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sinde, should be sent out at once to recover the lost honour of the British arms. The Government and the East India Company responded to the demand. Lord Gough was recalled, and Sir Charles Napier appointed to succeed him. Within three days the veteran warrior sailed from England, and in a few weeks arrived at Calcutta; but swift as had been his action, the progress of events had been swifter, and the earliest intelligence which greeted him on his disembarkation was of the great victory of Gujrat, and the consequent annexation of the Punjab. Lord Gough had saved his reputation, and the British army recovered its prestige.

Battle of Gujrat, February 22, 1849.

Accepting the lesson which the fatal field of Chilianwala had so emphatically enforced, Lord Gough made no further attempt against the Sikh entrenchments on the heights of Russool. On the 6th of February, however, Sher Singh suddenly decamped from Russool, turned the British right unperceived, and struck southward to threaten Lahore. In this intention he was foiled by General Whish, who, set free from Multan by the surrender of Mulraj, was advancing to reinforce Lord

¹ An obelisk, erected on the spot, preserves the memory of the British officers and men who lost their lives upon this fatal field (where Alexander the Great defeated the Indian prince Porus), which is known to the natives round about as Katalgarh, or "the house of slaughter." It is 85 miles N.W. of Lahore, in lat. 32° 39' N. and long. 73° 38' E.

Gough, and took possession of the fords of the Jehlam, while he effected his junction with the commander-in-chief by means of a bridge of boats. On the 20th of February the junction was complete, and Gough immediately started in pursuit of the Sikhs at the head of 25,000 men, with a splendid artillery force numbering 100 guns.

Sher Singh, baffled in his designs against Lahore, and pressed for provisions, fell back towards the Chinab by way of Gujrat,¹ where he proceeded to entrench himself. He had received large reinforcements, which had brought his numbers up to 50,000 men, but he had only fifty-nine guns, and had posted his army in the form of a crescent outside the walls of Gujrat, but within the curve of a deep nullah or watercourse formed by the dry bed of the Dwarra. His left was covered by a deep though narrow stream, which, running from the east of the town, turned south and fell into the Chinab in the direction of Wazirabad. Between this stream and the nullah spread an open space of nearly three miles, which Lord Gough determined to utilise for the main advance, his plan of battle contemplating that his right wing should penetrate the enemy's centre, so as to turn his position in rear of the nullah, and thus enable the British left to cross in comparative safety, when, in co-operation with the right, it would double back on its centre the opposite wing of the enemy. On this occasion the British right was under the command of Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert, the centre under Brigadier Colin Campbell, and the left under the Hon. H. Dundas.

In the Sikh camp at this time, as already stated, Major George Lawrence was a prisoner. His treatment was all that could be desired. The Sikh chiefs conversed with him freely and frequently, and often dwelt on the error of the British commander-in-chief in making so little use of his splendid artillery, and hurling his infantry straight upon the cannon-mouths of his antagonists. Being allowed to visit on parole his brother, Sir Henry Lawrence, at Lahore, the Major repeated this remark, and Sir Henry (at least so runs the story)

¹ *Gujrat*, lat. 32° 35' N., long. 74° 7' E.; 5 miles N. of the present bed of the Chinab; population, 18,743.

thought it worthy of transmission to Lord Dalhousie in his camp on the Sutlaj. The Governor-General (it is said) made it known to Lord Gough; but the fact would seem to be that a like opinion had already been expressed by several distinguished artillery-officers, and one can hardly help thinking that the experience of Chilianwala must have led the commander-in-chief himself to a similar conclusion. At all events, he did not commit the mistake at Gujrat, which was in a great measure won by British cannon. For three hours a hundred pieces of ordnance, of heavy calibre and admirably served, poured a storm of fire on the enemy such as had never before been known on any Indian battlefield. The Sikh guns in vain attempted to reply. They were silenced and driven back in disorder; the British guns then bounded ahead, and taking up a new line, renewed the crash of shot and shell with destructive effect.

“At half-past seven,” says Lord Gough, “the army advanced with the precision of a parade movement. The enemy opened their fire at a very long distance, which exposed to my artillery both the position and range of their guns. I halted the infantry just out of fire, and advanced the whole of my artillery covered by skirmishers. The cannonade now opened upon the enemy was one of the most magnificent I ever witnessed, and as terrible in its effects. The Sikh guns were served with their accustomed rapidity, and the enemy well and resolutely maintained his position, but the terrible force of our fire obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to fall back. I then deployed the infantry and directed a general advance, covering the movement with my artillery as before. The village of Burra Kalra, the left one of those of that name, in which the enemy had concealed a large body of infantry, and which was apparently the key of their position, lay immediately in the line of Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert’s advance, and was carried in a most brilliant style by a spirited attack of the 3rd brigade under Brigadier Penny, consisting of the 2nd Europeans and the 31st and 70th regiments of native infantry, which drove the enemy from their cover with great slaughter. A very spirited and successful movement was also

made about the same time against a heavy body of the enemy's troops in and about the second or Chota Kalra, by part of Brigadier Harvey's brigade, most gallantly led by Lieutenant-Colonel Franks of her Majesty's 10th foot. The heavy artillery continued to advance with extraordinary celerity, taking up successive forward positions, driving the enemy from those they had retired to, while the rapid advance and beautiful fire of the horse-artillery and light field-batteries, which I strengthened by bringing to the front the two reserve troops of horse-artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Brind (Brigadier Brooke having the general superintendence of the whole horse-artillery), broke the ranks of the enemy at all points. The whole infantry line now rapidly advanced and drove the enemy before it; the nullah was cleared, several villages stormed, the guns that were in position carried, the camp captured, and the enemy routed in every direction, the right wing and Brigadier-General Campbell's division passing in pursuit to the eastward, the Bombay column to the westward of the town. The retreat of the Sikh army, thus hotly pressed, soon became a perfect flight, all arms dispersing over the country, rapidly pursued by our troops for a distance of twelve miles, their track strewn with the wounded, their arms and military equipments, which they threw away to conceal that they were soldiers."

To the Sikh army Gujrat meant annihilation. Few of its broken battalions ever rallied again to their colours; the whole Punjab lay at the feet of the victors. The Sikh chiefs unconditionally submitted to Sir Walter Gilbert, who conducted the pursuit, at Nurungabad, on the right bank of the Jehlam (March 5), gave up their prisoners, and laid their swords at Sir Walter's feet. The soldiery who had survived the battle and the rout, some 16,000 in all, surrendered their weapons, together with 41 pieces of cannon, making, with those captured at Gujrat, a total of 160. This decisive field cost the British only 92 killed and 682 wounded. Well might Lord Dalhousie describe it as a victory "which must ever be regarded as one of the most memorable in the annals of British warfare in India; memorable alike from the greatness of the occasion, and from the brilliant and decisive issue of the contest."

The Governor-General at once made it known that the Lahore Council of Regency would be tolerated no longer; and imposed on the Sirdars a treaty, which they signed in the name of the boy-Maharaja, annexing the Punjab to British India, dethroning the Maharaja, who received, however, a pension of £58,000, and confiscating to the Queen of England "the gem called the Koh-i-Noor," which was taken from Shah Shuja-el-Mulk by Ranjit Singh. On the 29th of March he issued one of his stately proclamations, in which he said: "For many years, in the time of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs. When Ranjit Singh was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the councils of the state, the Sirdars and the Khalsa army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated. They were driven with slaughter and in shame from the country they had invaded, and at the gates of Lahore the Maharaja Dhulip Singh tendered to the Governor-General the submission of himself and his chiefs, and solicited the clemency of the British Government. The Governor-General extended the clemency of his government to the state of Lahore; he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the Maharaja having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the states."

Lord Dalhousie proceeded with a dignified recital of the acts of enmity of which the Sikhs were afterwards guilty, and commented upon the manner in which solemn promises had been broken and sacred obligations set aside. At last, "the army of the state and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the Sirdars in the Punjab who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the Regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power. The Government of India formally declared that it desired no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its professions. The Government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound, in its duty, to provide fully for its

own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure means of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the Governor-General is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own Government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have once shown) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace. Wherefore the Governor-General of India has declared, and hereby proclaims, that the kingdom of the Punjab is at an end, and that all the territories of Maharaja Dhulip Singh are now and henceforth a portion of the British Empire in India."

Lord Dalhousie placed the government of the Punjab in the hands of a Board of Administration, consisting of three members—Sir Henry Lawrence as president, John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, and Mr. Mansel, who was soon replaced by Mr. (Sir Robert) Montgomery. Their powers were almost unlimited, and, with the assistance of an energetic staff of young officials, they utilised them to the great advantage of the people, who were speedily reconciled to British rule when they came to understand that it meant order, security, humanity, and justice. Before we glance at what they accomplished in this direction, we must note, in completion of our narrative of military events, that the usual honours and rewards were bestowed upon the victorious army and its leaders. Parliament was liberal of its thanks, so was the East India Company. Extra pay was granted to the stalwart fighting-men who had so splendidly vindicated the prowess in war of the English race. The Governor-General was elevated to a Marquisate, and Lord Gough to a Viscountcy; Generals Gilbert and Thackwell received the Grand Cross of the Bath, and Generals Campbell, Wheeler, and Cheape were made Knight Commanders. The young Maharaja was sent to England to be educated, where he married an English lady, and lived for many years the life of an English country-gentleman on an estate in Norfolk. But suddenly putting forward extravagant pretensions which the British Government disallowed, he abandoned his English home, renounced his

profession of the Christian faith, and in 1887 visited Russia, his weak brain excited with dreams of promoting a war against the Government of India which should replace him on the throne of Ranjit Singh. He speedily sank into obscurity; and it seems certain that nowhere would he have obtained less support than in the Punjab,—to none would he have been less welcome than to his countrymen.

Administration of the Punjab.

In one of Sir Henry Lawrence's letters, speaking of what was being effected in the Punjab for the welfare of its inhabitants, he says: "We have hunted down all the dacoits (a fraternity of armed marauders and murderers). During the first year we hanged nearly a hundred, six and eight at a time, and thereby struck such a terror, that dacoity is now more rare than in any part of India. In civil justice we have not been so successful, or in putting down petty crimes; but we are striving hard to simplify matters, and bring justice home to the poor. In seven years we shall have a splendid canal, with four great branches from the hills close down to Multan, and in two years we shall have a magnificent trunk road to Peshawar, and in every direction we are making cross-roads (in the Lahore district there are 800 miles of new road), and in many quarters small inundation canals have been opened out or old ones repaired. . . . Not one shot has been fired within the Punjab since annexation. The revenue has been reduced by the summary assessments about 30 lakhs, or 25 per cent. on the whole, varying from 5 and 10 to 50 per cent. The poorer classes have reason to be thankful. . . . We have planted thousands of trees, so that in a few years the reproach of want of verdure will be wiped off. Serais are at every stage on our new main roads, and police-posts at every two or three miles. We are inquiring into education, and have got up a good English and vernacular school at Amritsar, where 160 boys and men attend, many of whom already speak and write English. I am very anxious to extend vernacular education, and to educate Punjabis for the public service, for engineering, and for medical and surgical offices."

Some of these reforms owed their initiative to the far-seeing energy of the Governor-General ; others were due to Lawrence's own clear judgment and practical good sense. It is strange that two men who had so much in common, and felt for each other a sincere respect and admiration, should have been unable to work together. But so it was, and in the affairs of the Punjab differences of opinion gradually developed, which led, in 1852, to an open rupture. Perhaps Sir Henry was inclined to extend too warm a sympathy to the native aristocracy, while Lord Dalhousie felt, with John Lawrence, that the attention of the Government ought to be more particularly given to the whole tax-paying community. However this may be, the Governor-General dispensed with his administrative board and substituted for it a Chief Commissioner, who was to be a civilian (February 1853). Both Sir Henry and his brother then tendered their resignations. Lord Dalhousie accepted that of the former, but at the same time appointed him to the important post of Resident in Rajputana ; John Lawrence he promoted to the new chief commissionership of the Punjab. There could have been no better choice. The post seemed made for the man—the man for the post. His great administrative capacity had ample field in which to exhibit itself ; the soil was almost virgin ; its resources were scarcely suspected, much less drawn upon. In 1854 a writer in the *Calcutta Review* thus described the magnitude of the work accomplished :—"The Bari-Doab canal and the military road to Peshawar are progressing towards completion.¹ Other great lines for commercial and social purposes are in progress, and cross-roads covering the districts in every direction. Violent crimes have been entirely put down, and secret ones have been traced to their source. Justice is dealt out in a fashion which combines the salutary promptness of the Oriental with the scrupulous investigation of the European court. The vexatious inquiries into free-rent tenures are fast

¹ The Bari-Doab canal, drawn from the river Ravi, irrigates an area of 433,080 acres. It was begun in 1849-50 and completed in 1859-60. Length of main and branch canals (in 1882), 388 miles. The military road was an extension of the Grand Trunk road running from Calcutta up the valley of the Ganges to the North-West frontier.

drawing to a close. Churches and dispensaries—the medicine of the soul and of the body—may be seen side by side in many of the principal stations. In sanatoria on the hills the wounded or invalid soldier and the worn-out civilian can recruit their strength. Warlike subjects may enlist in our irregular troops, and find something better to do than to sit down and grumble at their lot. Not six months ago a grand meeting was convened at Amritsar, where measures were adopted to put down the fearful crime of infanticide by the exercise of authority combined with persuasive influence and moral force. A civil code, sufficient to meet the growing requirements of a commercial and agricultural population, has been compiled by the joint efforts of Messrs. Montgomery and Temple, has been revised by the Chief Commissioner, who is now a sort of lieutenant-governor, and submitted for sanction to Government. The missionary is endeavouring to win converts at Lahore. An agricultural society is striving to improve the produce of the plains. Tea-cultivation is being extended in the hills. The whole face of the country tells its own tale in expanding cultivation, secure highways, long lines of camels and carts laden with rich merchandise.”

In 1859, after the Delhi territory had been transferred to the Punjab, the Punjab and its dependencies were constituted a lieutenant-governorship—Sir John Lawrence, who had hitherto been the Chief Commissioner, becoming the first Lieutenant-Governor. The post has since been held by Sir R. Montgomery, Sir D. M'Leod, Sir H. Durand, Sir H. Davies, Sir R. Egerton, and Sir C. A. Aitchison (appointed in 1886).

In January 1876 the Prince of Wales paid a visit to the Punjab. During the Afghan campaign of 1878–80 a great demand was made upon its resources, as it was made the chief base of operations for the armies engaged in Northern Afghanistan. The years during which the war lasted, or from November 1878 to the end of 1880, were years of some scarcity owing to deficient rainfall. Sickness was unfortunately prevalent, and in the west trade was injuriously affected by the war ; but the operations in the field called everywhere for additional labour, high profits were made by many sections of the community, and the

construction of the railway towards Kohat and Peshawar, which was energetically pushed forward, afforded "ample employment for the needy." So that the general prosperity of the people was well maintained. Since the close of the war the Punjab has flourished uninterruptedly. In June 1882 direct railway communication was completed with Peshawar, and in November of the same year was opened the Sirhind Canal, which irrigates a vast extent of country in the Ludhiana and Ferozpur districts, and draws its supplies from the Sutlaj.

The territories now under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab comprise—" (1.) The Punjab proper, west of the Beas, annexed in March 1849, on the close of the second Sikh war. (2.) The Jalandhar Doab and the hill district of Kangra, which were ceded to the British Government by the treaty of Lahore, concluded in March 1846, after the termination of the first Sikh war. (3.) The country east of the river Sutlaj, formerly designated the Cis-Sutlaj States, and including—(a.) the possessions of Maharaja Dhulip Singh of Lahore, on the left bank of the Sutlaj, which were annexed to the British territories in December 1845; (b.) such of the states, taken under the protection of the British in 1808-9, as subsequently lapsed on the death of their chiefs without heirs, or were confiscated and brought under British administration in January 1847, in consequence of the misconduct of their chiefs in the first Sikh war; (c.) the hill district of Simla, a portion of which was acquired after the Gurkha war of 1814-16, and the remainder subsequently obtained by lapse, purchase, or exchange for other territory. (4.) The Delhi territory west of the river Jumna, which was transferred from the Government of the North-Western Provinces to that of the Punjab in February 1858, and separated into the two divisions of Delhi and Hissar." The population of the Punjab in 1881 was 18,850,437 persons.

The Second Burmese War, 1852.

On the completion of the Sikh war, Lord Dalhousie speedily found himself involved in complications in an entirely opposite quarter. For some years our relations with the Burmese court

had been the reverse of friendly. The sovereign with whom peace had been concluded at Yandabu in 1826 was deposed in 1837 by his brother, Tharrawadi, who seized every opportunity of displaying not only his hatred of the British, but his contempt for them. The British Resident appointed in 1830 found his situation at Ava so intolerable, that in 1837 he withdrew to Rangoon, and soon afterwards returned to Calcutta. The sullen dislike shown by the king and his nobles soon passed into open hostility. Though by treaty British subjects trading to Burmese ports were entitled to "the utmost protection and security," they were constantly exposed to acts of violence. The complaints laid before the Governor-General were so numerous, so urgent, and so just, that towards the close of 1851 Lord Dalhousie dispatched a small squadron to Rangoon to demand reparation, the governor of that place having been one of the worst offenders; but the British officers employed, instead of obtaining satisfaction, were themselves treated with indignity and insult, and compelled to retire without accomplishing anything except a blockade of the ports. The usual diplomacy followed. The British demanded compensation on a moderate scale for the injuries inflicted on British subjects; an apology for the insults offered by the governor of Rangoon to the representatives of the Government of India; and the friendly reception of a British agent, who was to reside at Rangoon. King Tharrawadi had been succeeded in 1846 by King Pagan-ming, but he had inherited his father's antipathy to the British, and absolutely refused either to make atonement for past wrongs, to apologise for official insolence, or to resume friendly and pacific relations. War was the result, the first shot being fired in January 1852. An expedition was immediately equipped, under the command of General Godwin and Admiral Austin, who captured in succession the important towns of Maulmain, Bassein, and Rangoon. Prome and Pegu also yielded to the British force in November. The blockade of the Irawadi crippled the trade of the country, and provisions soon rose to famine prices in the Burmese capital. King Pagan-ming, to whose foolish obstinacy the continuance of the war was due, became in-

tensely unpopular, and, after a brief struggle, was deposed by his brother, who made overtures for peace to the Calcutta Government. On the 4th of April 1853 British and Burmese commissioners met at Prome to arrange the terms. During the conference the Burmese envoys seemed very anxious for peace, and offered to sign a treaty conceding the province of Pegu, which Lord Dalhousie by proclamation (on the 20th of December) had annexed to the British empire, if the frontier was fixed, not at Muaday, as the British, who had taken possession of that place, proposed, but lower down, in the neighbourhood of Prome. This point was yielded by the Governor-General, whereupon the Burmese withdrew from their previous declarations, and informed our envoys that the king could assent to no treaty which involved a cession of territory. It seemed for the moment as if hostilities must immediately be renewed, but it soon appeared that the king's objection was not so much to the cession of territory as to the humiliation of making it by formal treaty; and convinced that war would bring ruin upon his throne and himself, he settled the difficulty by addressing a letter to the Governor-General, in which he practically granted all that had been demanded. Lord Dalhousie accepted the letter as equivalent to a treaty, and issued a formal notification of the restoration of peace on the 30th of June 1853.

Such was the termination of a war which, though undistinguished by any brilliant military events, added to our Indian Empire the whole province of Pegu, an area of upwards of 40,000 square miles, with a population of 3,000,000 persons.¹

A domestic revolution had resulted, meanwhile, in the dethronement of King Pagan-ming, whose cruelty had made him

¹ Since annexation, the inhabitants of Rangoon have increased nearly fifteen-fold. The trade of this great port, which, four years after annexation, amounted to only £2,131,055, had increased to £13,174,094 in 1883. Equal prosperity has attended the towns and rural districts. "Before its annexation in 1826, Amherst district was the scene of perpetual warfare between the kings of Siam and Pegu, and was stripped of inhabitants. In February 1827 a Talaing chief with 10,000 followers settled in the neighbourhood of Maulmain, and after a few years a further influx of 20,000 immigrants took place. In 1855 the population of Amherst dis-

the terror of his subjects, and in the accession of the Prince of Mingdun, with the title of Mingdun-ming. Though insolent enough in his dealings with foreign powers, he had sufficient sagacity to keep upon good terms with the Government of India. The loss of Pegu was, however, a subject of bitter regret, and he could never be induced to acknowledge it by formal treaty. Early in 1855 he dispatched a mission of compliment to Lord Dalhousie; and in the summer of the same year Major (afterwards Sir) Arthur Phayre, who administered the government of Pegu, was appointed envoy to the court of Ava.

Annexations.

The temple of the Indian Janus was now closed for a few years, but the expansion of the Empire was continued,—annexation becoming the peaceful substitute for conquest. It was the fundamental maxim of Lord Dalhousie's system of government, and the guiding principle of his administrative career, that rulers exist only for the good of the ruled. The natural corollary was that good rulers should everywhere be substituted for bad; and hence, as the native Indian princes were unjust and tyrannical rulers, that, whenever and wherever possible, they should be replaced by the mild and equitable sway of the British Government. It was true that in the case of reigning princes, and as regarded their legitimate heirs, good faith must be observed and treaties respected; but Lord Dalhousie firmly held that no benevolence ought to be exercised towards dynasties which had been discredited by long-continued misrule, and he was prepared to apply "the doctrine of lapse" with the utmost stringency.

This doctrine was considerably affected, however, by the Indian practice of adoption. According to Hindu law or custom, an adopted son entirely fills the place of a natural trict amounted to 83,146 souls; in 1875, to 275,432; in 1881, to 301,086. In 1826, when we occupied that part of the province, Akyab was a poor fishing-village. By 1830 it had developed into a little town with a trade valued at £7000. In 1879 the trade exceeded £2,000,000 sterling; so that the trade of Akyab had multiplied itself close on three hundred-fold in fifty years.

son, and enjoys exactly the same rights and privileges. "But it was agreed that, both as a matter of historical fact and as one of political expediency, the succession to a throne stood upon a different footing. It was affirmed, not always with a complete knowledge of the facts, that the Mughal emperors had asserted an interest in successions to the great fiefs, and demanded heavy payments for recognising them. It was, therefore, maintained that the Paramount Power could not acknowledge without limitations a right of adoption, which might be used as a fraud to hand over the happiness of millions to a base-born impostor. Here comes in Lord Dalhousie's maxim of 'the good of the governed.' To his mind, benefits to be conferred through British administration weighed heavier than a superstitious and often fraudulent fiction of inheritance." But as the right of adoption was one on which the native princes placed extraordinary value, Lord Dalhousie's interference with it, however fully justified from a moral point of view, was a hazardous political experiment, and tended, no doubt, to shake the confidence of the higher classes of Indian society in the equity and good faith of the Indian Government. Morally, whatever is right is expedient ; but the converse does not hold good in the judgment of the statesman.

The first application of the doctrine of lapse was in the case of Satara, which had been reconstituted as a state by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the Peshwa in 1828. The Raja of Satara, the last lineal representative of Sivaji, died without male issue in 1848, but a few hours before his death adopted a boy distantly related to him. Acting on the principle that the succession to the raj was not a right of adoption, Lord Dalhousie, with the consent of the home authorities, set the adoption aside to this extent, and incorporated Satara with the British territories in 1849. In the same year the Rajput state of Karauli came under the same rule ; but on the 26th of January 1853, the Court of Directors disagreed with their Governor-General, and sustained the succession of the adopted son on the rather subtle ground that Karauli was "a protected ally," and not a dependent principality.

The next annexation was that of the state of Jhansi, where the circumstances were exactly parallel to those of Satara ; and

Lord Dalhousie in March 1854 declared it a portion of British territory. Thirdly, the principle was applied on a much larger scale to the great Maratha principality of Nagpur, of which the reader has heard so much in a preceding chapter. The last of the Bhonsla Rajas, Raghuji III., died without issue in 1853, and his territories were immediately annexed. Together with the Sagar and Narbada territories, they now form the Central Provinces.

The same year (1853) witnessed the extension of direct British rule to the Berars, or the Assigned Districts, which the Nizam of Haidarabad was induced to cede to us as a territorial guarantee for his arrears of subsidy, and for the pay of the Haidarabad contingent, which was invariably in arrear. We may note that the representatives of three other native dynasties passed away in 1853, though in neither case did the empire gain any extension, namely, the titular Nawab of the Karnatik and the titular Raja of Tanjore, both of whom died without heirs; and in the north of India, Baji Rao, the ex-Peshwa, who, dethroned in 1818, survived until 1853 in enjoyment of a pension of £80,000. He left his accumulated wealth to his adopted son, Nana Sahib, who, as he could obtain no recognition of his supposed rights from the Indian Government, became a mortal enemy of the British, and one of the leading spirits of the great Mutiny.

The last and most important of Lord Dalhousie's annexations—the one which elicited the most hostile criticism and had the most far-reaching consequences—was that of the kingdom of Oudh (1856). The grounds on which he justified his action may thus be stated.

Ever since the Nawab Wazir, Shuja-ud-Daula, received back his forfeited kingdom from the hands of Lord Clive in 1765, the throne of Oudh had been sustained by British bayonets. Freed from the responsibilities of power, protected equally from foreign and domestic enemies, the Nawabs had gradually sunk into indolent voluptuaries, who ground down their subjects in order to provide for sensual and degrading pleasures. It has been said that their one virtue was steady loyalty to the British Government; but this was a purely selfish virtue, for they knew that it was only the ægis of the British Government

which sheltered them from the indignation of an oppressed people. The rich country between the Ganges and the Gogra, now occupied by a denser population than any rural area of the same size in the world, lay for generations under the cold shade of a tyranny for which each British Governor-General felt himself to some extent responsible. Lord William Bentinck (1831) and Lord Hardinge (1847), not to mention others, had sternly warned the Nawabs (who in 1819 had assumed the title of Shah or king) that unless they reformed their method of government, a day of reckoning would come when they would be called to strict account.

Of the anarchy which prevailed in the years immediately before the annexation, Colonel Sleeman, the Resident, who made a tour through the province in 1849-52, has furnished a graphic description :—

“The Nazim of the Tandiawan or Bangar district met me on his border, and told me that he was too weak to enforce the King's orders or to collect his revenues ; that he had with him one efficient company of Captain Bunbury's corps, with one gun in good repair, and provided with draught-bullocks in good condition, and that this was the only force he could rely upon ; while the landholders were strong, and so leagued together for mutual defence, that at the sound of a matchlock, or any other concerted signal, all the men of a dozen large villages would in an hour concentrate upon and defeat the largest force the king's officers could assemble ; that they did so every year, and often frequently within the same year ; that he had nominally eight guns on duty with him, but the carriage of one had already gone to pieces, and those of the rest had been so long without repair, that they would go to pieces with every little firing ; that the draught-bullocks had not had any grain for many years, and are hardly able to walk, and he was in consequence obliged to hire plough-bullocks to draw the gun required to salute the Resident. . . . A large portion of the surface is covered with jungle, useful only to robbers and refractory landholders, who abound in the par-gana of Bangar. In this respect it is reported one of the worst districts in Oudh. Within the last few years the king's troops

have been frequently beaten and driven out with loss, even when commanded by a European officer. The landholders and armed peasantry of the different villages unite their quotas of auxiliaries, and concentrate upon them on a concerted signal when they are in pursuit of robbers and rebels. Almost every able-bodied man of every village in Bangar is trained to the use of arms of one kind or another, and none of the king's troops, save those who are disciplined and commanded by European officers, will venture to serve against a landholder of this district; and when the local authorities cannot obtain the aid of such troops, they are obliged to conciliate the most powerful and unscrupulous by reductions in the assessment of the lands."

Writing to the Governor-General, Sir W. Sleeman said:—"No part of the people of Oudh are more anxious for the interposition of our Government than the members of the royal family, for there is really no portion more helpless and oppressed; none of them can ever approach the king, who is surrounded exclusively by eunuchs, fiddlers, and poetasters worse than either, and the minister and his creatures, who are worse than all. They appropriate at least one half of the revenues of the country to themselves, and employ nothing but knaves of the very worst kind in the administration. The king is a crazy imbecile, who is led about by these people like a child, and made to do whatever they wish him to do, and to give whatever orders may best suit their private interests. At present the most powerful of the favourites are two eunuchs, two fiddlers, two poetasters, and the minister and his creatures. The minister could not stand a moment without the eunuchs, fiddlers, and poets, and he is obliged to acquiesce in all the orders given by the king for their benefit. The fiddlers have control over the administration of civil justice, the eunuchs over that of criminal justice, public buildings, &c. The minister has the land revenue, and all are making enormous fortunes." The Resident added:—"What the people want, and most earnestly pray for, is that our Government should take upon itself the responsibility of governing them well and permanently. All classes, save the knaves who now surround and govern the king, earnestly pray for this—the educated classes, because they would then have a chance of respectable employment, which none of them now

have ; the middle classes, because they find no protection or encouragement, and no hope that their children will be permitted to inherit the property they may leave not invested in our Government securities ; and the humbler classes, because they are now abandoned to the merciless rapacity of the starving troops and other public establishments, and of the landholders, driven or incited into rebellion by the present state of misrule. There is not, I believe, another government in India so entirely opposed to the best interests and most earnest wishes of the people as that of Oudh now is ; at least I have never seen or read of one. People of all classes have become utterly weary of it." It is unfortunate, however, that they made no formal or collective statement of their weariness, nor in any way invited the interference of the British Government.

We may grant, however, that this interference was absolutely necessary, and we may also concede that it was warranted by treaty, and by the responsibility we had incurred as the protectors of Oudh. But then the limits of our interference were defined by treaty, and, if kept within these limits, would fully have acquitted our legal and moral obligations. By the treaty of 1801 the Oudh court was bound to establish a reformed system of administration, and by the treaty of 1837 it was stipulated that if no such reformed system were established the British Government might take possession of disturbed districts and administer them until they could satisfactorily be restored. Neither of these treaties, it is clear, contemplated annexation, or even implied it ; and Lord Dalhousie was compelled to declare that the latter had been annulled, and to repudiate the former. His mind was made up for annexation, and the Court of Directors, after a long delay and with much hesitation, decided in favour of the same course.

When their decision was given, Lord Dalhousie was on the point of resigning office, his health having broken down,¹ but he felt that it would be unfair to leave to his successor so arduous a responsibility in the early days of his work in India. He therefore intimated to the home authorities that, notwithstanding his illness, he would remain at his post until the annexation of Oudh was completed. He had not the slightest doubt of the wisdom, justice, and expediency of the act. He was satis-

fied that it would result in the benefit of the people. "With this feeling on my mind," he wrote in his private diary, "and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty, gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt."

Early in 1856 instructions were issued to General (afterwards Sir James) Outram, then Resident at the court of Lucknow, to assume the direct administration of Oudh, on the ground that "the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions." A treaty was proposed to the king which provided that the sole civil and military government of Oudh should be vested in the British Government for ever; that the title of King of Oudh should be continued to his Majesty and the lawful heirs-male of his body; that the king should be treated with all due attention, respect, and honour, and should have exclusive jurisdiction within the palace at Dil-Khusha and Bibopur parks, except as to the infliction of capital punishment; that the King Wajid Ali Shah should receive twelve lakhs a year for the support of his dignity and honour, besides a sum of three lakhs for palace-guards; that his successors should also receive twelve lakhs a year, and that his collateral relations should be maintained separately by the British Government. Three days were allowed to the king to consider and sign this treaty. He refused, and on the 13th of February 1856, by proclamation, his kingdom was taken from him, and became an integral part of the British territory, was immediately constituted into a chief commissionership, and organised on the model which had been adopted in the Punjab eight years previously. The king, after sending his mother, brother, and son on a fruitless mission of protest and appeal to England, took up his residence at Garden Reach, in the suburbs of Calcutta, with a pension of £120,000 a year.

Without a drop of blood being shed, Oudh was thus annexed to the British Empire. No act of Lord Dalhousie—though there was considerable, if not complete, justification for it—provoked sterner criticism abroad or gave a greater

shock to native public opinion. To the Indian mind it seemed dictated by pure greed of territory, for the natives did not appreciate, nor did they credit, any professions of disinterested philanthropy and anxiety for the welfare of the common people. The Musalmans throughout India, and especially in the larger cities, were necessarily irritated by the disappearance of an independent Muhammadan kingdom. The rulers of native states were alarmed by an act which seemed to afford a precedent for the early absorption of their own principalities and abolition of their inherited rights and privileges. In Oudh itself every class was angered, disgusted, and enervated into bitter antagonists of the Paramount Power. The territorial aristocracy—the great landowners—suddenly found themselves deprived, by the effect of the newly-introduced British system, of half or even more of their estates; the courtiers were stripped of the appointments and pensions they had enjoyed through the favour of the prince; the military class were deprived of their occupation and reduced to beggary; the sepoys were offended by the humiliation of their country; the small artisans of the towns and the peasantry, by the introduction of a new mode of taxation, probably more equitable and less arbitrary than the old, though felt more forcibly because dealing with articles of primary necessity.

Much of this discontent might have been avoided if the annexation had been carried out more slowly and with greater tact, as would probably have been the case had Lord Dalhousie remained longer on the scene. But the great proconsul, though only forty-four years of age, was already stricken down with a mortal illness when he took leave of the shores of India on the 6th of March 1856. In a farewell address the inhabitants of Calcutta had anticipated for him a splendid career in the political world at home, but he himself knew that it would not be so. "I have played out my part," he replied; "and while I feel that in any case the principal act in the drama of my life is ended, I shall be content if the curtain should drop now on my public career." He returned to England exhausted in health by his strenuous labours, and incapable of rendering the state any further service. The end was not long in coming; he died on the 19th of December 1860.



CHAPTER XI.

LORD CANNING, 1856-1862.

The Great Sepoy Mutiny.

THE government of India was assumed by Lord Canning on the 29th of February 1856. Charles John, Viscount Canning, third and youngest, but only surviving son of the great orator, statesman, and wit, George Canning, was born at Brompton, London, on December 14, 1812. When he assumed the reins of power he was therefore of about the same age as Lord Dalhousie when he resigned them. His previous career had been one of meritorious performance, but had not exhibited those fine qualities of mind and character which his arduous Indian experience developed. Most people, when they heard of his appointment, were somewhat surprised, and attributed it to the Prime Minister's affectionate remembrance of the new Governor-General's illustrious father; but it was generally believed that India had entered upon a period of profound tranquillity, that there would be nothing to demand the exercise of the highest statesmanship, and that Lord Canning would discharge the ordinary duties of his post with credit. Some few who knew him intimately were convinced, however, that he possessed intellectual gifts fitted to cope with any emergency, if such should unfortunately arise, and felt sure that he needed only the place and the opportunity to prove himself a worthy successor of a Dalhousie and a Wellesley.

Lord Canning was educated at Eton, whence he removed to Christchurch, Oxford, graduating as B.A. with considerable distinction in 1833. Three years later he entered the House of Commons as a follower of Sir Robert Peel, but in the follow-

ing year, the death of his mother, who had been raised to the peerage on her husband's death in 1828, transferred him to the Upper Chamber. From 1841 until March 1846 he served as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. For three or four months he held the Chief Commissionership of Woods and Forests. When the Aberdeen Ministry was formed in 1852, he was appointed Postmaster-General, which position he still occupied when, towards the close of 1855, he was chosen as successor to the Marquis of Dalhousie.

On his arrival in India, Lord Canning, with the conscientiousness that was one of his special characteristics, set to work to learn the range and nature of his duties, and energetically took up and carried forward the many social and material reforms for which India was eagerly waiting. Some of these were legacies from his predecessor; others were initiated by himself. He showed much activity in the development of the internal resources of the country, and favoured the extension of roads, railways, and the telegraph-wire. It seemed as if he were desirous of emulating the example of Lord William Bentinck, and that his administration would be rendered illustrious by those victories of peace which, the poet tells us, are more renowned than those of war. But such anticipations were doomed to early disappointment. In a speech which he had made just before leaving England he had remarked:—"I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." That small cloud rose above the horizon in May 1857—not, perhaps, altogether unexpectedly to shrewd and quiet observers—and did indeed threaten to crush our empire in India beneath the storm it carried. That a fatal catastrophe was avoided must be attributed, in the first place, to the high courage and fortitude of the English race, as exemplified at almost every station where they were tested; and, in the second, to the firmness, calmness, patience, and resolution of the Governor-General, who met with unflinching steadfastness the agonies and terrible anxieties of a crisis such as no one of his predecessors had ever been called upon to encounter.

The Sepoy Mutiny, 1857-1859.

" The causes of the great Sepoy Mutiny were many, though its immediate outbreak was due to a single incident. But then these causes and this incident would not have operated so disastrously had they not found the atmosphere charged with explosive elements. All over India the native mind was in an excited condition. It had been alarmed by the successive annexations of Lord Dalhousie, which had offended almost equally Muhammadan and Hindu, the higher classes and the lower. Even the reforms he had introduced and Lord Canning was prosecuting were distasteful to the natives, as indicating an intention on the part of the Government to extirpate the ancient civilisation of the East and replace it by that of Europe. All this would have had no practical result but for the state of affairs in our native army. Ruler after ruler had eulogised and favoured the sepoy, until he had come to believe that his European master could not dispense with his services. He deluded himself that it was he who had conquered Sind and the Punjab; that it was his bayonet which supported the Governor-General in his seat in the council-chamber at Calcutta. He might well think so, for when he occasionally indulged in insubordination, he was caressed and petted until he was brought again into a good humour.¹ The old Anglo-Indian officers, bred up for years in the command of sepoy regiments, and proud of their traditions of victory, could not be made to believe that there was any possibility of their proving disloyal, and placed in them a confidence which led to a flagrant violation of the most ordinary considerations of prudence.² So the game went on, the sepoys growing more discontented, and the officers waxing increasingly credulous. Then came the Crimean war and the sufferings of our soldiers before Sebastopol. The sepoys heard a good deal of Russia,

¹ Lord Dalhousie on one occasion declared that the sepoy "had been overpetted and overpaid of late, and had been led on by the Government itself into the entertainment of expectations and the manifestation of a feeling which he had never held in former times."

² The Government seems to have been struck with a kind of judicial blindness. In discontented Oudh there was only a single European regi-

and came to think that England was sinking into her dotage. The bribes and intrigues of the dethroned native princes fostered a mutinous spirit and an insolent temper. The annexation of Oudh heaped up fresh and abundant materials of discontent.

Such was "the situation" when, early in 1857, a rumour was spread through the cantonments, probably by the agents of the native princes or by the emissaries of Brahminical societies, that the cartridges issued to the Bengal army for use with the new rifled musket had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs, the one as offensive to the Hindus as the other to the Muhammadans. This was commented upon as indicative of the rooted design of the British Government to destroy "the caste" both of the Hindu and the Muhammadan sepoys. There was some truth in the report; for, as a matter of fact, cow-tallow had been "culpably and ignorantly used." When the mischief was done the Government did its best to undo it, but by this time the rumour had spread far and wide, and been so universally accepted, that, though immediate orders were issued that all cartridges should be manufactured without the objectionable elements, and the sepoys were allowed to apply with their own hands whatever suitable mixtures they might prefer, the flames of anarchy and revolt had been kindled, and the minds of the soldiery could no longer be composed. Night after night fires broke out in the native lines; officers were insulted by their men; and the bonds of discipline everywhere gave way.

At Meerut,¹ May 10, 1857.

The first outbreak and the first massacre² took place at Meerut or Merath, the military and administrative centre ment. Delhi, with its vast arsenal and supplies of military stores, was guarded wholly by native troops, and our military establishment throughout India had been suffered to fall far below its normal standard, and, what was worse, to sink into a disorganised and ineffective condition, while its generals were men who had risen through seniority, and were notoriously incapable.

¹ *Meerut* or *Merath*, lat. $29^{\circ} 0' 41''$ N., long. $77^{\circ} 45' 3''$ E.; 25 miles E. from the Ganges; 29 miles W. from the Jumna; on the Sind and Delhi Railway and the Great Trunk Road; population, 99,565.

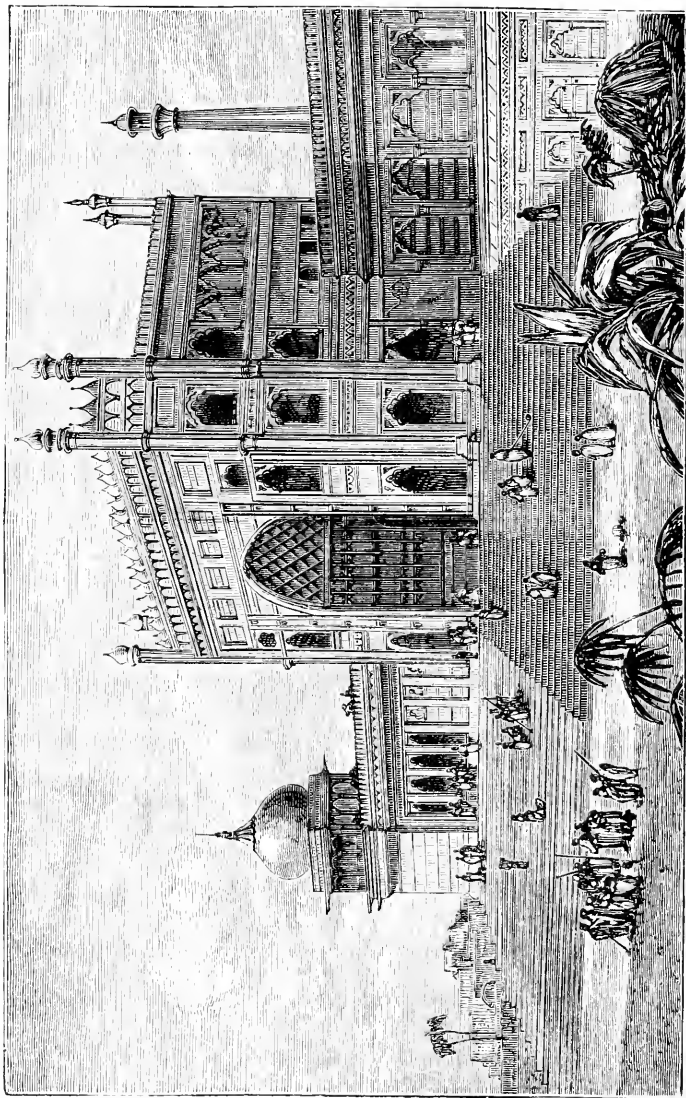
² Outbreaks of disorder, however, had already occurred at Berhampur

of the Meerut district, North-Western Provinces, thirty-five miles N.N.E. of Delhi.

From the beginning of the year the native troops had manifested an exceeding restlessness, and the story of the greased cartridges had been widely accepted in their ranks. One day in April a trooper named Brijmohan informed his comrades that he had used the new cartridges, and that they would all have to do so shortly. Soon afterwards his house was set on fire, and thenceforward a night seldom passed without some act of incendiarism. On the 9th of May some men of the 3rd Bengal cavalry, who had refused to use the cartridges, were condemned to two years' imprisonment. Next day, Sunday, May the 10th, their comrades mutinied, and were followed in their evil course by the two infantry regiments, the 11th and 20th, then in cantonments; and at five A.M. they broke open the gaol, and began the massacre of all the Europeans in the city, whether officers, soldiers, or civilians, men, women, or children. A large European force of foot, horse, and guns was stationed at Meerut, but the commander, General Hewit, was mentally and physically unfitted to cope with such an emergency. He was an old man, enfeebled by half a century of Indian service, and he not only made no attempt to overpower the mutineers while they were spreading fire and murder throughout the European quarters, but did not offer to pursue or intercept them when, their hands red with innocent blood, they set out, 2000 strong, on their way to Delhi.

"It was not until sunrise on Monday," writes Mr. Rotton, in his book, "*The Chaplain's Narrative*," "that any one knew, with anything like certainty, the extent of the atrocities committed by the savages within the cantonment of Meerut. What spectacles of terror met the eye almost simultaneously with the return of the day! The lifeless and mutilated corpses of men, women, and children were here and there to be seen, some of them so frightfully disfigured and so shamefully dishonoured in death, that the very recollection of such sights chills the blood."

(February 26) and Barrackpur (March 29), but had speedily been suppressed, and the 19th native infantry, which had shared in the latter, was, by Lord Canning's orders, disbanded.



THE PALACE AT DELHI.—P. 347.

At Delhi, May 12th.

Marching along the Great Trunk Road, the mutineers, under the guidance of some leading spirits, and acting, no doubt, on a preconcerted plan, swept onward to Delhi, to enlist in the cause its large native garrison and criminal population, and to secure a nominal head and a traditional name in the deposed representative of the great Mughal emperors. The troopers reached the imperial city early on the morning of the 12th, and mustering in excited groups beneath the windows of the old king's palace, they called on him to help them, announcing that they had killed the English at Meerut, and had "come to fight for the faith." The commandant of the guards, the commissioner, and the collector retired to the Lahore gate of the palace, and were there cut to pieces. "The murderers," says Kaye, "with their blood-stained swords in their hands, went about boasting of their crimes, and calling upon others to follow their example. The courtyards and the corridors of the palace were swarming with the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry and of the 38th, and soon the Meerut infantry regiments began to swell the dangerous crowd, whilst an excited Muhammadan rabble mingled with the sepoys and the palace-guards. The troopers stabled their horses in the courts of the palace. The footmen, weary with the long night-march, turned the hall of audience into a barrack, and littered down on the floor. Guards were posted all about the palace, and the wretched, helpless king found that his royal dwelling-house was in military occupation."

Most of the European residents then had their houses within the city. The mutineers and the mob hastened to attack them, carrying fire and murder into every house. About thirty "white men" having barricaded themselves in the house of Mr. Aldwell, a Government pensioner, made a chivalrous though ineffectual defence, but the only persons who escaped were Mrs. Aldwell and her three children; these, by assuming the native dress, succeeded, though not without incurring much peril, in reaching the palace, where they were confined with some fifty more Europeans, whose lives, it was said, had

been guaranteed by the king. By eight o'clock the rebels held the whole city except the magazine and the main-guard.

Information of these startling events soon reached the cantonments beyond the ridge, where three battalions of native infantry and a battery of native artillery were stationed. The 54th native infantry were marched rapidly down to the main-guard, but mutinied on their arrival, and cut down several of their officers. Portions of two regiments, however, together with the artillery, remained all day under arms in the main-guard, and were reinforced at intervals by the few fugitives who escaped from the city. The magazine, with its vast stores of munitions, which would have been of immense value to the rebels, stood about half-way between the palace and the main-guard. It was in charge of Lieutenant Willoughby and eight other Europeans, who made a gallant defence as long as it was possible; and about mid-day, when further resistance was hopeless, bravely blew up the magazine behind them. Five perished in the explosion, sacrificing their lives for their country; two escaped to the main-guard, and the other two, after some hair-breadth escapes, contrived to reach Meerut.

All day long the sepoys in the cantonment and the main-guard, expecting that the white regiments would come up from Meerut and exact a fearful vengeance for their slaughtered comrades, remained quiet; but when evening came, and no avenging troops, they found courage to join in the revolt, and shot or cut down the officers, women, and children. A few escaped along the roads to Meerut or Kamal, but most of them were murdered or perished of hunger on the way. By nightfall all traces of British authority had disappeared both from the cantonments and the city. As for the king's prisoners, who were chiefly women and children, some European and some Eurasian, they were thrust indiscriminately into a room in the palace, kept in confinement for sixteen days, and then massacred in the courtyard. The king was directly responsible for this savage proceeding. In the official record of the palace, under the 16th of May, occurs this entry:—"The king held his court in the special hall of audience; forty-nine English were prisoners, and the army demanded that they should be given over to them for slaughter. The

king delivered them up, saying, 'The army may do as they please.'" Mrs. Aldwell and her three children were the only prisoners who escaped. When taken, they were disguised as Muhammadans, and she had afterwards, with the sagacity of a mother's love, taught them the Muhammadan confession of faith. They passed, therefore, as Musalmans from Kasmir, and were specially exempted when the order was given to bring out the victims. "The women and children," says Mrs. Aldwell, "began crying, saying, they knew they were going to be murdered, but the Muhammadans swore on the Kuran, and the Hindus on the Jumna, that such was not the case; that they wanted to give them a better residence, and that the one they were in would be converted into a magazine. On this they went out, were counted, but I do not know the number; a rope was thrown round to encircle the whole group, the same as prisoners are usually kept together when on the move; and in this manner they were taken out of my sight." The foul deed of slaughter is thus described by a native eye-witness:—"On reaching the first courtyard, I saw the prisoners all standing together, surrounded on all sides by the king's special armed retainers, or what you may term his body-guard, and some of the infantry mutineers. I did not observe any signal orders given, but on a sudden the men just mentioned drew their swords, and all simultaneously attacked the prisoners, and continued cutting at them till they had killed them all."

Such was the beginning of the Mutiny. We shall now attempt to indicate its extension, taking in alphabetical order the various places at which it broke out. Afterwards we shall have its suppression at Delhi, Cawnpur, and Lucknow, and the general measures by which the authority of the British Government was re-established.

AGRA.¹—News of the outbreak at Meerut reached here on the 11th of May, and suspicions of the fidelity of the native soldiers were at once entertained. On the 30th of May two companies of infantry, who had been dispatched to Muttra to bring in the treasure, broke from their allegiance, and marched

¹ *Agra*, lat. 27° 10' 6" N., long. 78° 5' 4" E.; on the N. bank of the Jumna; 139 miles from Delhi, 841 miles from Calcutta. Famous for its grand Mughal buildings, the Tama Musjid or Great Mosque, the palace, the Moti iid or Pearl Mosque, and the mausoleum of the Taj Mahal.

off to Delhi. Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who had hitherto been slow to move, was then induced to act energetically, and ordered that all the native troops in Agra should be disarmed. At dawn of day on the 31st they were drawn up on the parade-ground, and so posted as to be under the fire of a European regiment, the 3rd, and a European battery. The command was given to pile arms. "There was a moment of hesitation, a look of discontent. The officers sternly reiterated the order. Silent and sullen, the sepoys obeyed, piled their arms, and marched off to their lines. On examining the muskets, many were found loaded with ball. . . . It was afterwards well known that on this very Sunday morning the sepoys had conspired to overpower the European regiment when in church, to rush upon the guns, and then to shoot, plunder, and burn from one end of Agra to the other." Mr. Colvin sent for assistance to Sindhia, the great Gwalior prince, who remained loyal to his suzerain throughout the struggle, and he dispatched his body-guard, Marathas of his own kindred or caste; events soon showed that they, too, had caught the infection of treachery. At Gwalior Sindhia's army mutinied on the 15th of June, and it was evident only too soon that their comrades at Agra would follow the evil example. On the 3rd of July the Europeans were compelled to seek refuge within the fort. Two days later the Nimach and Nasirabad rebels, 5500 strong with 11 guns, advanced towards Agra, but with great gallantry Brigadier Polwhele led out his small force, about 650 men with six guns, to meet them. After a sharp action, want of ammunition compelled our men to retire, and, sorely dispirited, they reached the fort as the day was closing. "They had lost in killed 45, in wounded and missing 108 of their number. Before the survivors entered, the blaze, advancing from house to house in the cantonments and civil station, had told the non-combatants and ladies within the fort how the battle had been appreciated by the natives. Hordes of villagers who had watched the contest from afar had at once dispersed to burn and plunder. The previously released prisoners and their comrades, now set at large, joined in the sport. All night the sky was illuminated with the flames of burning houses, and a murmur like the distant sea told what passions were at work. It was a magnificent though sad spectacle for the dispirited occupants of the fort."

The victorious mutineers, fortunately, marched on to Delhi, and on the 8th, through the prompt and courageous action of Mr. Drummond, the magistrate, who took a company of British soldiers into the town, order was restored and British rule re-established. During the months of July and August, however, the officials remained shut up in the fort, where Mr. Colvin died on September the 9th. After the fall of Delhi in September, the fugitives from that city, together with the rebel sepoys from Central India, advanced against Agra, which they reached on October the 8th. Meanwhile, Colonel Greathed's flying column from Delhi entered the city without the knowledge of the mutineers, who unsuspectingly attacked this fine force of veteran soldiers, were quickly beaten, and pursued for nearly ten miles with terrible carnage. Agra was delivered from all danger, and the reorganisation of the district thenceforward went on apace.

AJMER-MERWARA.¹—Good government had secured so thoroughly the confidence of the population that the Mutiny here proved almost innocuous. On May 28th two regiments of Bengal infantry and a battery of Bengal artillery revolted at the military station of Nasirabad; but the European residents were protected by a regiment of the Bombay infantry, while the treasury and magazine were faithfully guarded by a detachment of the Merwara battalion. The mutinous regiments marched direct to Delhi, and the revolt found no sympathisers among the agricultural population.

ALIGARH.²—News of the Meerut mutiny reached Koil, the ancient city, of which the fort and station of Aligarh form a suburb, on the 12th of May 1857, and the native troops at Aligarh at once revolted. The Europeans escaped with their lives, but the soldiers and rabble plundered and burnt their houses. Until the 2nd of July the factory at Mandrak was defended with pertinacious vigour by a small body of volunteers; but want of munitions and stores compelled them at last to abandon it, and the rebels were then supreme throughout the district. A native "committee of safety" was formed to preserve the city of Koil from plunder; but the Musulman mob compelled them to abandon their task, and the work of

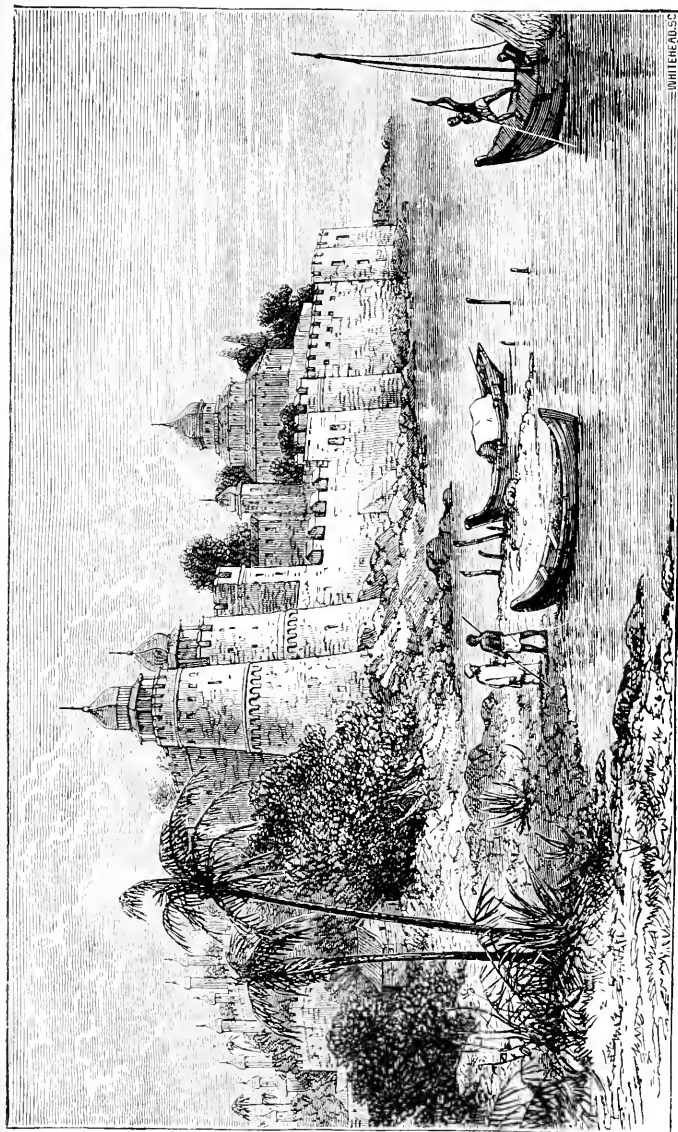
¹ *Ajmere*, lat. $26^{\circ} 27' 10''$ N., long. $74^{\circ} 43' 58''$ E.; 228 miles W. from Agra; population, 48,735.

² *Aligarh*, lat. $27^{\circ} 55' 41''$ N., long. $78^{\circ} 6' 45''$ E.; 84 miles S.E. from Delhi; population, 61,730.

government was undertaken by one of their number, Nasim-alla. His excesses disgusted the Hindu population, and they began to sigh for the justice and orderliness of British rule. On August the 24th a small British force appeared before Koil and with ease defeated the rebels, who made a rapid retreat, to the great joy of the Hindu townfolk. The district was on several occasions visited by passing bodies of insurgents ; but our authority remained unshaken, and before the end of the year not a rebel soldier remained in arms in the Doab.

ALLAHABAD.¹—During the Mutiny this important city was the scene of one of the gravest outbreaks and most lamentable massacres which occurred in the North-Western Provinces. On the memorable 12th of May 1857, the native troops in the cantonment consisted of the 6th Bengal infantry, a wing of a Sikh regiment, and two troops of Oudh Irregular Horse ; so that the great arsenal, with its 40,000 stand of arms, large numbers of cannon, and vast military stores, were wholly unprotected. The authorities, however, saw the danger, and, so far as they were able, took measures to guard against it. From Chanon Fort they procured a reinforcement of about eighty aged European invalids, who arrived at an opportune moment ; for the company of the 6th in charge of the principal gate of the fortress had conspired to admit their comrades, when they found themselves suddenly displaced. To disguise their treachery and avert suspicion, they volunteered to march against the rebels at Delhi, and at the sunset parade on the 6th of June the thanks of the Governor-General were read to the regiment in acknowledgment of their loyal devotion. Three hours later, while their officers sat at mess, they broke out into open mutiny. Several of the Europeans were shot down before they could leave the messroom, others were cruelly murdered as they hastened to the cantonment in the hope of restoring order. The Europeans within the fort, bravely supported by the Sikhs, contrived to hold their own, but could do nothing to check the plunder and bloodshed in the city ; and the sepoys, in blind rage, broke open the jail, looted the treasury, pillaged and destroyed the houses of the European residents, and murdered every European or Eurasian who unhappily fell into their hands.

¹ *Allahabad*, lat. 25° 26' N., long. 81° 58' E. ; at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna ; 89 miles from Benares and 564 miles from Calcutta ; the seat of government for the North-Western Provinces, in which it is the third city in size and first in importance ; population, 148,547.



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A kind of rebel government was then set up, under a man called "The Maulvi," who proclaimed the restoration of the Delhi emperor. On the 11th of June, Brigadier Neill, with a detachment of the Madras Fusiliers, arrived, and on the following day attacked and destroyed the suburb of Dagar Daraganj. The women and children having been sent to Calcutta by steamer, Neill on the 15th opened the guns of the fort on the suburbs of Kydunj and Mulganj, and afterwards carried them with some slight resistance. On the 17th the European magistrate resumed his duties, and on the morning of the 18th, when Neill with his whole force marched into the city, he found that the sepoys had disappeared.

ARRAH.¹—One of the brightest episodes in the history of the Mutiny is the successful defence of Arrah, or rather of a couple of buildings, now known as the Judge's Houses, by Mr. Vicars Boyle and a dozen Englishmen, assisted by fifty Sikhs, who bravely resisted all the efforts of the mutineers, under Kuar Singh, for eight days (July 27th to August 3rd), until relieved by Major Vincent Eyre.

Mr. Vicars Boyle, a civil engineer connected with the railway, had from a very early period regarded it as quite a possible contingency that the station might be attacked by the mutineers. Therefore, despite general ridicule, he had fortified the smaller of the two houses in his compound in a manner which would enable it, if defended, to resist any sudden attack. This house was a small detached building about fifty feet square, having one storey above the basement, and surmounted by a flat roof. When it became certain that a large body of rebel sepoys were marching upon Arrah, the residents resolved to profit by Mr. Boyle's prescience, and to defend themselves in his house against the enemy. Provisions of all kinds had gradually been stored up by Mr. Boyle, and fresh supplies were now poured in. Additional means of defence were provided, ammunition was collected, loopholes were made in the walls, and sandbags placed on the roof. At the same time the front portion of the other and larger house in the same compound, about fifty yards distant from the improvised fortress, was entirely demolished, so as to prevent it from affording shelter to any possible assailants.

"Anything more hopeless," says Sir J. W. Kaye, "than an

¹ *Arrah*, lat. 25° 33' N., long. 84° 42' E.; 196 miles from Calcutta; on the East India railway; population, 42,998.

attempt to defend a house against 2000 sepoys, and a multitude of armed insurgents perhaps four times that number, could not well be conceived. The almost absolute certainty of destruction was such that a retreat under cover of the night would not have been discreditable ; but the residents at Arrah had other thoughts of their duty to the state. There were a dozen Englishmen, and three or four other Christians, and fifty (fifty-four) Sikhs sent by Mr. Taylor (the Commissioner of Patna), so that it was resolved there should be no flight, but hard fighting. . . . On the 27th July the mutinous Dinapur sepoys marched boldly up to the attack, but were met with such a heavy fire that they broke into groups and sheltered themselves behind trees. Herwald Wake, the magistrate, had taken command of the Sikhs, and the little garrison resisted all attempts to overpower them either by the fire of rifles or by heaping up combustibles and adding to the smoke by throwing chillies on the flames. Another attempt to drive out the garrison by piling up the carcasses of horses and oxen, so as to create a fearful effluvium, also failed, as did a mine which the rebels carried to the foundations of the house. A week thus passed ; but when the second Sunday came round, Major Vincent Eyre arrived with four guns, 60 English gunners, and 100 men of the 78th Highlanders, accompanied by 150 of the 5th Fusiliers under Captain L'Estrange. After six weeks of heavy rain the roads were very difficult, and before reaching Arrah Eyre had been attacked by thousands of the enemy ; but he fought his way through all obstacles until he reached the railway works. The line of railway gained, Eyre drew up his force, and the fight speedily commenced. Awed by the foretaste they had had in the morning of our Enfield rifles and our field-guns, the enemy again sought shelter in a wood, from which they poured a galling fire on our people. Our want of numbers was now severely felt. There was a general want of fighting men to contend with the multitude of the enemy, and there was a special want, almost as great, which rendered the service of a single man in that conjuncture well-nigh as important as a company of fusiliers. Eyre had left his only artillery subaltern at Ghazipur, and was compelled therefore himself to direct the fire of his guns, when he would fain have been directing the general operations of his force. More than once the forward movements of the infantry had left the guns without support, and the sepoys, seeing their opportunity, had made a rush upon the battery, but had been

driven back by showers of grape. The infantry were fighting stoutly and steadily, but they could not make an impression on those vastly superior numbers, aided by the advantage of their position. Eyre accordingly ordered a bayonet-charge, which was made with a rush upon the panic-stricken multitude of sepoys. It was nothing that they had our numbers twenty times told. They turned and fled in confusion before the British bayonets, whilst Eyre poured in his grape round after round upon the flying masses. The rout was complete, and the road to Arrah was left as clear as though there had been no mutiny at Dinapur—no revolt in Behar.”

AZAMGARH.¹—The 17th native infantry murdered their officers and carried off the treasure to Faizabad. Twice were the Europeans at this station compelled to fly to Ghazipur for refuge, and Kuar Singh on his retreat from Lucknow in February 1858 laid siege to it, only to beat a rapid retreat in April on the arrival of Sir E. Lugard's column.

BAKSAR.²—The sole historical interest attaching to this village arises from its connection with the Cawnpur massacre, July 1857, when a single boat-load of fugitives, escaping down the river, most unhappily ran upon a sandbank in the neighbourhood. The fire of the enemy prevented the boat being got afloat again, and fourteen of its occupants landed to attempt to drive them off. “Directly we got on shore,” says Major De la Fosse, one of the survivors, “the insurgents retired; but having followed them up too far, we were cut off from the river, and had ourselves to retire, as we were being surrounded. We could not make for the river, but had to go down parallel, and came at the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank should we attempt to cross the river. On the bank just by was a temple. We fired a volley and made for it, one man being killed and one wounded. From the door we fired on every insurgent who showed himself. Finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round and set it on fire. When we could no longer remain inside on account of the smoke and

¹ *Azamgarh*, lat. $26^{\circ} 3' N.$, long. $83^{\circ} 13' E.$; 81 miles N. of Benares, 109 miles N.E. of Allahabad; population, 18,528.

² *Baksar*, village in Oudh, on left bank of the Ganges, the waters of which are reputed to be particularly sacred here; annual fair in the month of Kartik, when 100,000 people assemble to bathe; celebrated temple dedicated to the goddess Chandika.

heat, we threw off the clothes we had, and each taking a musket, charged through the fire. Seven of us out of twelve got into the water, but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot. There were only five left now, and we had to swim, while the insurgents followed us along both banks, wading, and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and not knowing in what direction he was swimming, got on shore and was killed. When we had gone down about six miles, firing on both sides ceased, and soon after we were hailed by some natives on the Oudh side, who asked us to come on shore, and said that they would take us to their Raja, who was friendly to the English. We gave ourselves up, and were taken six miles inland to the Raja, who treated us very kindly, giving us clothes and food." Besides Major De la Fosse, Captain Mowbray Thomson and two privates escaped, the sole survivors of the Cawnpur massacre. The boat from which they had landed was overtaken by the rebels and carried back to Cawnpur, where its remaining occupants were slain by order of the Nana Sahib.

BANDA.¹—The people of this district, suffering severely from poverty and taxation, were easily induced in May 1857 by the Cawnpur and Allahabad rebels to join in the insurrection. The troops of the Nawab co-operated with the 1st native infantry in seizing on the magazines and public buildings, and on the 14th of June, after a brave attempt at resistance, the British residents made their escape from the town. The Nawab then put himself at the head of the mutineers, and it was at his palace gate on the 15th that the magistrate of Karur was murdered. The rural population rose *en masse*, and anarchy prevailed throughout the country. Nor could the Nawab restore order; pretenders to the supreme authority rose on every side, and the hordes of plunderers whom the Mutiny had set in motion ignored his edicts. The fort of Kalinjar, however, was occupied by British troops throughout the long agony, and in April 1858 General Whitlock recovered the town of Banda and re-established British authority. The Nawab was deposed as a punishment for his disloyalty.

BARA-BANKI.—The talukdars or landowners of this district

¹ *Banda*, lat. 25° 28' N., long. 80° 22' 15" E.; on the river Kor; 95 miles S.W. of Allahabad, 860 miles N.W. of Calcutta; population, 28,974.

joined the rebels in 1857, but soon submitted after Lord Clyde's recapture of Lucknow. [See NAWABGANJ.]

BAREILLY.¹—This was the centre of rebellion in 1857. The troops mutinied on the 31st of May, and Khan Bahadur Khan, a descendant of the old Rohilla chiefs, was proclaimed governor. Most of the Europeans escaped to Naini Tal. After the recapture of Lucknow, the Nawab of Fatehgarh, the Nana Sahib, Firoz Shah, and other rebel leaders, took refuge here. On the 5th of May 1858 the British army encamped before the town, and two days later the rebels fled into Oudh, and Bareilly once more recognised the British flag.

BENARES.²—News of the outbreak at Meerut arrived here on the 15th of May, whereupon the 37th native infantry displayed a mutinous spirit, and when ordered to disarm refused to obey. The Sikhs and irregular cavalry joined the rebels, but after being fired upon the whole body dispersed. The Europeans then fortified the Mint; but no further disturbance occurred, the constant transit of troops from Calcutta on their way to the North-West sufficing to intimidate the rabble of the city.

BIJNAUR.³—The signal given at Meerut was known here on the 13th of May. The sappers at Rurki mutinied and reached Bijnaur on the 19th, but passed on without creating any disturbance, and the country round about remained at peace until the 1st of June, when the Nawab of Najibabad arrived with 200 armed Pathans. On the 8th the European officers retired to Rurki, and the Nawab immediately proclaimed himself ruler. He continued to exercise his authority until the 6th of August, when the Hindus rose against and defeated him. On the 24th, the Muhammadans having received reinforcements, turned the tables on the Hindus, and the Nawab ruled until the 21st of April 1858, when a British army crossed the Ganges, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels at Nagina. British authority was immediately re-established.

¹ *Bareilly*, lat. 28° 22' N., long. 29° 26' E.; on the Ramgunya river; 152 miles E. from Delhi; population, 113,417.

² *Benares*, lat. 25° 18' 31" N., long. 83° 5' 4" E., on the Ganges; 421 miles N.W. of Calcutta, 466 miles S.E. of Delhi; the most sacred city of the Hindus, and of great antiquity; contains numerous temples, sacred wells, &c., especially the Bisheswar or Golden Temple, dedicated to Siva; population, 193,025.

³ *Bijnaur*, lat. 29° 22' 36" N., long. 78° 10' 32" E.; 3 miles from left bank of the Ganges; population, 15,147.

BUDAUN.¹—On the outbreak of the Mutiny, the treasury-guard here followed the evil example of so many of their comrades, and being joined by the townsfolk, broke open the jail and burned the civil station. The European officers retired to Fatehgarh, and on June 17th Abdul Rahim Khan assumed the government of the district. Disputes between the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders were of frequent occurrence, but the latter eventually got the upper hand. On the 27th of April General Penny's column defeated the rebels at Kakrala, in this district (the general being killed in the action), and Major Gordon's force near Bisauli. The rebel governor fled the city, and British authority was re-established.

BULANDSHAHR.²—The 9th native infantry mutinied here on the 21st of May, and the European officers were compelled to ride for their lives to Meerut. As it lies on the main-road from Agra and Aligarh to Meerut, its recovery was important, and this was accomplished by a small body of volunteers, assisted by the Dehra Gurkhas. But when the latter marched to join General Wilson's Delhi army, the rebels again rose, under Walidad Khan of Malagarh, and succeeded in driving the small European garrison out of the district. Till the end of September Walidad held the town, commanding the entire line of communications with Agra, but on the 25th Colonel Greathed's flying column drove him out after a sharp action, and compelled him to fly across the Ganges. On the 4th of October the district was regularly occupied by Colonel Farquhar, and British authority was everywhere re-established.

CHAMPARAN.³—When the Mutiny broke out, the 24th irregular horse was stationed at Sigauli, in this district. Its commandant, Major Holmes, was one of those veteran officers who believed in the sepoys, and he could not be persuaded that any of his gallant troopers would turn traitors. But one day in July they let loose their hellish passions, and murdered him and his wife (a daughter of Sir Robert Sale) and children, and all the Europeans in the cantonments.

CHANDA.—In this district of Central India no mutinous acts took place until March 1858, when a petty chief named

¹ *Budaun*, lat. 28° 2' 30" N., long. 79° 9' 45" E.; on the river Sor, in N.W. Provinces; population, 33,680.

² *Bulandshahr*, lat. 28° 24' 11" N., long. 77° 54' 15" E.; on the river Kali Nadi; population, 47,863.

³ *Champaran*, a district of the Patna Division, Presidency of Bengal, occupying the N.W. corner of Behar.

Babu Rao began to loot and destroy, and being joined by Vyankat Rao, zamindar of Arpalli and Ghot, the two marauders collected a band of Rohillas and Ghonds, and defied British authority. On the night of the 29th April Messrs Gartland, Hall, and Peter, telegraph employés, were attacked by a party of rebels near Chunchgandi, on the Pranhitu river. Messrs. Gartland and Hall perished. Mr. Peter escaped, and joined Captain Crichton, then deputy-commissioner. Afterwards, disguised as a native, he carried a letter from Captain Crichton to an influential female zamindar, Lakshmi Bai, and through her active exertions Babu Rao was captured. On October 21, 1858, he was executed at Chanda. His confederate, Vyankat Rao, escaped to Bastar, but in April 1860 was arrested by the Raja of that state, and given up to the British authorities, who sentenced him to transportation for life and confiscated his property.

CHITTAGONG.¹—Three companies of the 34th native infantry were stationed here at the time of the Mutiny. They all revolted on the night of the 18th of November, released the prisoners in the jail, killing one native constable, and early next morning decamped from the station, carrying with them three Government elephants, some ammunition, and treasure to the value of about £27,800, of which £5000 were subsequently recovered.

DACCA.²—Immediately after the Meerut outbreak a force of 100 seamen was sent from Calcutta for the protection of this important town. Two companies of sepoy garrisoned the fort, and the authorities resolved, with the help of the seamen and about sixty civilian volunteers, to disarm them. They offered a strenuous resistance, but were eventually put to flight, leaving forty-one dead on the field, while many others were drowned in the river or shot down while they were attempting to escape.

DINAPUR.³—The Mutiny of 1857, so far as the Patna District was concerned, began at this important military station, which was then occupied by her Majesty's 10th, a wing of the

¹ *Chittagong*, lat. 22° 21' 3" N., long. 91° 52' 44" E.; 12 miles from the mouth of the Kamaphuli river; population, 20,969.

² *Dacca*, lat. 23° 43' N., long. 90° 26' 25" E.; on the Buriganga; population, 79,076.

³ *Dinapur*, lat. 25° 38' 19" N., long. 85° 5' 8" E.; military headquarters of Patna District; on the S. bank of the Ganges, 6 miles from Bankipur; population, 37,893.

37th, a field-battery, and three native regiments, the 7th, 8th, and 40th. As the disaffection of the native troops was more than suspected, they ought to have been disarmed, but Major-General Lloyd, the commander, had a blind faith in their loyalty, and rejected the warnings addressed to him by the mercantile community. They then appealed to Lord Canning, who referred the matter back to General Lloyd, giving him permission to disarm if he thought it necessary. He continued in his credulous ignorance; but on July 25 went so far as to order the native troops to give up their percussion caps, whereupon they took to their heels, and made towards the river Son, in the direction of Arrah, carrying their arms and accoutrements with them. A reinforcement of 430 men under Captain Dunbar was dispatched to the relief of Arrah on the 29th of July, but got involved in an ambush laid by the rebels, and suffered terribly; out of those who contrived to fight their way back to the river, where their boats were lying, and return to Dinapur, not more than sixty-five being unwounded. "Many acts of daring," says Colonel Malleson, "were performed. . . . Mr. Ross Mangles, of the Civil Service, a volunteer, supported and helped along for five miles a wounded soldier of the 37th, who but for that support would have been left to die. For this act Mr. Ross Mangles received the Victoria Cross. Another of the volunteers, Mr. M'Donell, of the Civil Service, received the same distinction for cutting the lashings of one of the boats, full of men, amid a storm of bullets, to which he was exposed from the opposite bank. Private Dempsey and another man of the 10th carried one of their officers, Ensign Erskine, who had been mortally wounded, for five miles to the boats. Lieutenant Ingleby, who had volunteered to command the Sikhs, was the last man to leave the shore. He plunged into the water, and was shot in the act of crossing."

ETAH.¹—As soon as the native troops here obtained information of the revolt at Aligarh, they all departed without any overt act of mutiny. There was no place of strength, and no force with which to defend one, and the Europeans had no choice but to retire from the district, reaching Agra in safety. The Raja of Etah then set himself up as an independent ruler, but various pretenders made their appearance, and towards the end of July the rebel Nawab of Farackhabad asserted

¹ *Etah*, lat. 27° 53' 50 N., long. 78° 42' 25" E.; in the N.W. Provinces, near the river Kali Nadi; population, 8054.

his supremacy. On the 15th of December Colonel Seaton's column attacked and defeated the rebels at Gangiri, and occupied Kasganj. By June 1858 order was completely re-established.

ETAWAH¹ in 1857 was garrisoned by a company of the 9th native infantry. On receiving intelligence of the events at Meerut and Delhi, Mr. Allan Hume, the magistrate, organised patrols to watch the roads, intercept any small detached bodies of mutineers, and at all risks keep them out of the station. On the night of the 16th of May seven rebel troopers of the 3rd cavalry were brought in; but not having been deprived of their arms, these men, when brought face to face with the native infantry drawn up at the quarter-guard, suddenly levelled their carbines or drew their swords, and assaulted the European officers on duty. The guard instantly turned out, and in the *mêlée* that followed five of the mutineers were killed. Of the two who escaped, one was shortly afterwards captured. Three days later the patrols stopped at Jaswantnagar, ten miles from Etawah, a large cart containing several revolted troopers, all belonging to the 3rd cavalry, and equipped with sabres, pistols, and carbines. "This time the patrols attempted to disarm their captives, but attempting it without due precaution, they paid dearly for their rashness. Pretending to deliver up their arms, the troopers fell suddenly upon their captors and shot them down. Having done this, they took up a position in a Hindu temple near at hand, small, but of great strength, the approach to which lay along a grove with walls on either side." When Mr. Hume was informed of this misfortune, he hastened to the spot, accompanied by Mr. Daniell, the assistant-magistrate, some troopers and foot-police. To storm the temple was dangerous, as the approach was commanded by the carbines of the rebels, but Mr. Hume and Mr. Daniell never hesitated, and calling on the police to follow them, boldly advanced to the assault. Only one man answered to their call, and he was killed. Mr. Daniell also was shot through the face, and Mr. Hume then abandoned the Quixotic enterprise, supported his wounded friend to their carriage, and returned to Etawah. Four days later the detachment of the 9th native infantry mutinied, sacked the town, plundered the treasury, and released the prisoners from jail.

¹ *Etawah*, lat. 26° 45' 31" N., long. 79° 3' 18" E.; on the Jumna; 73 miles S.E. of Agra; population, 34,721.

The European ladies and children, accompanied by the civilian officials, and by some native officers who had remained faithful, retired in safety to Barpura. On the morning of the 25th, however, a regiment of the Gwalior contingent, the 1st grenadiers, marched upon Etawah, and restored British authority.

FAIZABAD.¹—The troops here, consisting of the 22nd Bengal native infantry, 6th irregular Oudh cavalry, a company of the 7th Bengal artillery, and a horse-battery of light field-guns, mutinied on the night of the 8th of June, but allowed the European officers with their wives and families to leave the town in safety.

FARACKHABAD² AND FATEHGARH.³—About the 29th of May the sepoy's stationed at Fatehgarh (10th native infantry) showed signs of insubordination. On the 3rd of June intelligence arrived of the outbreaks at Bareilly and Shahjahanpur, and Colonel Smith, who commanded the regiment, resolved to dispatch the women and children that night by river to Cawnpur, which was then considered safe. About 120 non-combatants, most of them women and children, accordingly started off in boats; but next day, receiving contradictory and ominous reports, they divided into two parties: 126 went on to Cawnpur, to perish there through the treacherous ferocity of Nana Sahib; the others, including the wife and family of Mr. Probyn, the collector of Fatehgarh, accepted the hospitality of a native landowner, Hardeo Baksh, at Dharampur. This party, with the exception of Mr. Probyn and Mr. Edwards, afterwards returned to Fatehgarh (June 13th). On the 19th the 41st native infantry, which had recently mutinied at Sitapur, entered the town, placed the Nawab of Farackhabad on the throne, and fraternised with the 10th; but the latter showed no thirst for European blood, and having seized and divided the treasure, most of them crossed the river into Oudh and dispersed to their homes. The 41st were of a fiercer temper, and laid siege to the fort, in which the Europeans, to the number of 100 and more, of whom only fifty-three were able-bodied men, had shut themselves up, mounting on its ramparts half

¹ *Faizabad*, lat. 26° 46' 45" N., long. 82° 11' 40" E.; on left bank of the Gogra; 78 miles E. of Lucknow; population, 38,828.

² *Farackhabad*, lat. 27° 23' 35" N., long. 79° 36' 50" E.; close to the W. bank of the Ganges; 83 miles N.W. of Cawnpur, 3 miles from Fatehgarh; population, 62,437.

³ *Fatehgarh*, lat. 27° 22' 55" N., long. 79° 40' 20" E.; 3 miles E. of Farackhabad; population, 12,435.

a dozen guns. Every attack made upon them was gallantly repulsed; but at length their severe losses, and their weariness through excessive work and watching, rendered farther resistance impossible, and they resolved to evacuate the fort and steal away in their boats, which had carefully been provided in case such an eventuality should be forced upon them. On the night of the 3rd of July the attempt was made; but the clear, luminous night betrayed their movements, and the sepoys opened fire. They ran the gauntlet without accident, and reached Singhirampur, though one of the boats they had to abandon, removing its occupants into Colonel Smith's. After repelling an attack from armed villagers, they continued their course. Unfortunately Major Robertson's boat grounded on a sandbank, where she stuck hard and fast, Colonel Smith's boat meanwhile having dropped down the fast-flowing stream. Major Robertson's was speedily assailed by a couple of craft loaded with sepoys, whose muskets did fearful execution. A few Europeans escaped by swimming after Colonel Smith's boat; the rest were taken prisoners and carried to the Nawab, who kept them in confinement for about a fortnight, and then caused them to be murdered under most atrocious circumstances. As for Colonel Smith's boat, it dropped down the river without molestation or intercourse with the natives, until, on the evening of the following day, it arrived at a little village, whose inhabitants came out and offered them assistance and protection. At first they feared treachery, but becoming convinced of their kindly intentions, they went ashore for the night, and supped upon unleavened bread and buffalo-milk. It would have been well if our countrymen had remained there. One did—a Mr. Jones—and he alone escaped. The others set out again that night, and set out to meet their death, though *how* and *where* we know not, except that it was by the order of Nana Sahib, and somewhere near Cawnpur (July 10th). "Thus had the Nawab triumphed at Farackhabad. But the blood thus spilt failed to cement his throne. It failed to win for him the affection of the Hindus, constituting nine-tenths of the population of the district. It failed to give him a sense of security. In a few short months it was this blood which choked his utterances for pardon, and which, when the penalty he had incurred had been remitted by the unauthorised action of a subordinate official, condemned him to an existence more miserable than death."

FATEHPUR.¹—It was known here on June the 6th that the sepoy garrison at Cawnpur had revolted. On the 8th a treasure-guard returning from Allahabad proved mutinous; and next day the rabble broke out, burnt the houses and plundered the property of the European residents. The civil officers escaped to Banda, with the exception of the Judge, who was murdered. On June 28th fourteen fugitives from Cawnpur landed at Shinrajpur in this district, and were all killed but four, who swam across to the Oudh shore. The district was traversed by the rebels throughout the month, but on the 30th General Neill dispatched from Allahabad a column under Major Renaud, who joined General Havelock's army at Khuga on the 11th of July, and next day they defeated the rebels at Bilanda. They then attacked and shelled Fatehpur, drove out the rebels, and took possession of the town. Order, however, was not finally restored until after the fall of Lucknow and Lord Clyde's return to Cawnpur, when the district was finally cleared of the rebels.

FIROZPUR.—In May 1857 one of the two native infantry regiments stationed here broke out into revolt, and notwithstanding the presence of a British regiment and some artillery, plundered and destroyed the buildings of the cantonment. The arsenal and magazine, however, were saved without loss of life to the European garrison, and the mutineers were subsequently dispersed. The memorial church, erected in commemoration of the officers and men slain in the battles on the Sutlaj, has been rebuilt.

GARYAM.—This district, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, adjoins the Delhi district on the north and north-east, and the native states of Alwar, Jaipur, Nabha, and Dujana on the west and south-west. The Nawab of Farukhnagar rose in rebellion in 1857, and except at Rewari, British authority was everywhere set at nought. After the fall of Delhi a British detachment was sent into the district, which speedily restored order.

GAYA.²—The sepoys in the neighbouring cantonments at Dinapur (see p. 359) mutinied in July, and withdrew to Shahabad. An attack upon them by a British force having resulted in disaster, Mr. William Taylor, the Commissioner of Patna,

¹ *Fatehpur*, lat. 25° 55' 18" N., long. 80° 52' E.; 70 miles N.W. of Allahabad, 50 miles S.E. of Cawnpur; population, 21,328.

² *Gaya*, lat. 24° 48' 44" N., long. 85° 3' 16" E.; on W. bank of the Phalga; population, 76,415.

issued orders to all the civil officials within his jurisdiction to retire with their establishments on Dinapur. 'At that time forty-five Europeans of the 64th, together with 100 Sikhs, garrisoned Gaya. With these as their escort, the magistrate started on the road to Patna, leaving behind about £70,000 in the treasury. But on the way Mr. Hollings, an official in the opium agency, remonstrated with Mr. Money for abandoning a station which no danger threatened; and thereupon he rode back to Gaya with Mr. Hollings, leaving the troops to pursue their march. The two officers found Gaya at peace. On August 2nd the company of the 64th returned. Mr. Money then collected carts for the treasure, which he conveyed in safety to Calcutta.

GHAZIPUR.¹—On the 3rd June the fugitives from Azamgarh arrived here, and the news of the mutiny at that post spreading abroad, some local outbreaks occurred. But the 65th native infantry continued true to their colours, and 100 European troops *en route* for Benares being detained, order was speedily re-established. When information of the Dinapur mutiny arrived on the 27th of July, the fidelity of the 65th began to waver; but after the rebel defeat at Arrah they were quietly disarmed, and some European troops were stationed at Ghazipur. All was tranquil for some months; but when the siege of Azimgarh was raised in April 1858, and the rebels came flying down the Gogra and across the Ganges to Arrah, the disaffected portion of the populace became disorderly, and by midsummer the eastern section of the district was plunged into commotion. In July, however, a British force drove the rebels out of the Doab, while another column cleared all the parganas north of the Ganges. Those south of the river were not subjugated till the end of October, when the authority of the British flag was everywhere restored.

GONDA.²—When the Mutiny broke out, the Raja of Gonda, after honourably conveying the Government treasure to Faizabad, joined the rebellion, and carried his support to the Begum of Oudh at Lucknow. On the other hand, the Raja of Balrampur never swerved from his fidelity; received and protected Sir Charles Wingfield, the commissioner, together

¹ *Ghazipur*, lat. $25^{\circ} 35' N.$, long. $83^{\circ} 38' 7'' E.$; on N. bank of the Ganges; 44 miles N.E. of Benares; population, 32,885.

² *Gonda* (in Oudh), lat. $27^{\circ} 7' 30'' N.$, long. $82^{\circ} E.$; 28 miles N.N.W. of Faizabad; population, 13,743.

with other British officers, in his fort, and afterwards sent them to Gorakhpur under a strong escort. The Gonda Raja, after the relief of Lucknow, encamped at Lampti, on the river Chamnai, with an army of 20,000 men, who, however, were cowed and dispirited by the swift-flowing tide of British victory. When attacked, they offered but a feeble resistance, and were dispersed with great slaughter, the survivors flying across the Rapti and into Nepal. Most of the rebel talukdars or great landowners accepted the amnesty prudently proclaimed by Lord Canning; but neither the Raja of Gonda nor the Rani of Julsi-pur would accept its terms, and their territories were therefore confiscated and bestowed as rewards on the late Maharajas Sir Dig Bijai Singh of Balrampur and Sir Man Singh of Shahganj.

GORAKHPUR.¹—The rebels obtained the upper hand in this district in the early days of the Mutiny; but with the assistance of the loyal Gurkhas, their leader, Muhammad Hassan, was expelled by Jung Bahadur on January 6, 1858.

GWALIOR.—The Maharaja, Jaiaji Rao Sindhia, was but a youth when the Mutiny broke out, but with great resolution and unshaken courage he remained loyal to the British Government. He was unable, however, to control his troops, and he warned the British Resident that on the first opportunity they would follow the example of their countrymen at Meerut and Delhi. It must always be a matter of regret that the women and children should not have been placed in security while there was yet time to remove them, and as the Maharaja himself suggested. This was not done, and many innocent lives were consequently lost. The crisis came on Sunday, 14th of June.² The Europeans had attended church service in the morning, passing many sepoy loitering about the road. During the day full details of the massacre at Jhansi arrived, and deepened the gloom that already hung over the station. The prevailing idea in the minds of the residents was that the same fate was reserved for themselves. "My husband," writes Mrs. Coopland, the chaplain's wife, "laid down and tried to get a little sleep—he was so worn out. He had just before been telling me the particulars of the Jhansi massacre, and we did not know how soon we might meet the same fate our-

¹ *Gorakhpur*, lat. 26° 44' 8" N., long. 83° 23' 44" E.; on the Rapti; population, 57,922.

² We follow Colonel Malleson (*Sepoy Mutiny*, i. 172 *et seq.*) very closely in our brief narrative. Cf. *A Lady's Escape from Gwalior*, by Mrs. Coopland.

selves. I hope you will never know how awful it is to wait quietly for death. There was now no escape, and we waited for our death-stroke. The dread calm of apprehension was awful. We indeed drank the cup of bitterness to the dregs. The words 'O death in life, the days that are no more,' kept recurring to my memory like a dirge. But God helps us in all our woes, otherwise we could not have borne the horrible suspense." All at once, about mid-day, a bungalow broke out into flame. This was the invariable precursor of a rising, and warned the residents that the terrible moment had come. They were not unprepared. Waterpots had been stored up in readiness, and, on the alarm being given, the occupiers of thatched houses had their roofs well saturated. But the wind was high; incendiaries stole to and fro; some houses chanced to be unoccupied, and the fire spread to the mess-house and a large swimming bath-house adjoining, and these, together with the bungalow first attacked, were burnt to the ground. Though the further progress of the fire was then arrested, the Europeans looked forward to the night with gloomy apprehensions. Unhappily they were fulfilled, for immediately after the firing of the evening-gun the revolt broke out. The sepoys fired the lines, sounded the alarm, and rushing from their huts with shouts and cries, discharged their loaded muskets. When their officers galloped down the lines in a vain effort to restore order, they were received with murderous volleys. Captain Stewart of the artillery was severely wounded, and afterwards, when a prisoner, was deliberately shot dead, the return of his riderless horse carrying the sad news to his wife. She, too—a woman of rare gifts of mind and person—did not long survive him. Her boy suffered with her, but the murderers spared her little girl. Majors Hawkins, Shireff, and Blake met with the same fate. Dr. Kirke was killed before his wife's eyes. "Then poor Mrs. Kirke," says Mrs. Coopland, "with her little boy joined us. She had that instant seen her husband shot, and on her crying, 'Kill me too!' they answered, 'No; we have killed you in killing him.' Her arms were bruised and swollen, they had torn off her bracelets so roughly; even her wedding-ring was gone. They spared her little boy, saying, 'Don't kill the butcha [child]; it is a missie baba' [girl]. Poor child! his long curls and girlish face saved his life. He was only four years of age." Major Blake's faithful Muhammadan servant guided the others to a hut where it was hoped they

might be in safety, but the sepoys discovered them. "We all stood up together in the corner of the hut," says Mrs. Coopland; "each of us took up one of the logs of wood that lay on the ground as some means of defence. I did not know if my husband had his gun, as it was too dark in the hut even to see our faces. The sepoys then began to pull off the roof; the cowardly wretches dared not come in, as they thought we had weapons. When they had unroofed the hut they fired in upon us. At the first shot we dropped our pieces of wood, and my husband said, 'We will not die here, let us go outside.' We all rushed out, and Mrs. Blake, Mrs. Raikes, and I, clasped our hands and cried, 'Mut maro, mut maro (do not kill us).' The sepoys said, 'We will not kill the mem-sahibs (ladies), only the sahib.' We were surrounded by a crowd of them, and as soon as they distinguished my husband they fired at him. Instantly they dragged Mrs. Blake, Mrs. Raikes, and me back, but not into the bearers' hut; the mehters' (sweepers') was good enough for us they said. I saw no more; but volley after volley soon told me that all was over." The butcher's list showed, in all, seven British officers, six sergeants and pensioners, three women and three children slain. Those who escaped, men, women, and children, made their way as best they could, some in parties, one or two almost singly, into Agra. On the approach of a large force of rebels under Tantia Topia, the ablest of the sepoy leaders, the Maharaja and his minister, Dinkar Rao, were compelled to flee to Agra (June 1858). A few days afterwards (the 19th), Gwalior was retaken by Sir Hugh Rose's army, and the Maharaja re-established in his palace. In recognition of his services the Government conferred upon him the right of adoption, together with lands yielding a revenue of £30,000, and permitted an increase to his army, which now stands at 48 guns, 6000 cavalry, and 5000 infantry.

HAIDARABAD.—During the Mutiny the Nizam was thoroughly loyal, though his dominions were frequently threatened by the rebels, and the Haidarabad contingent did good service in the field.

HANNIPUR.¹—The whole of Bundelkhand was swept by the storm of the great Mutiny, and Hannipur did not escape. On June 13th the 56th native infantry broke out into rebellion, and

¹ *Hannipur*, lat. 25° 58' N., long. 80° 11' E., on the Jumna, where it is joined by the Betwa; population, 7155.

massacred all the Europeans save one. The surrounding native chiefs contended with each other for portions of the British territory, and plundered all the principal towns. The Raja of Charkari alone maintained a dubious loyalty, which grew stronger and more definite as General Whitlock's column approached Mahiba, which was captured in September 1858, and the fort of Srinagur destroyed. The rebels fled to the hills, but were persistently hunted down and punished.

HANSI.¹—In the cantonment here was stationed a considerable force of local levies, who mutinied in 1857, slew all Europeans who fell into their hands, and combined with the wild Rajput tribes in plundering the whole Hissar district. But General Van Cortlandt, with a body of Punjabis, completely routed them, and re-established British authority. The cantonment has since been discontinued.

INDORE.—During the Mutiny a considerable portion of the state troops rose against the British *raj*, and besieged Sir Harry Durand, the Resident, in the Residency (July 1). After some sharp fighting he succeeded in making his way to Bhopal with the English women and children. The Maharaja remained loyal, though it must be admitted that some features of his conduct were not at the time regarded as satisfactory. On this point, however, the reader may consult Major Evans Bell's "Last Counsels of an Unknown Counsellor;" Lieutenant-General Travers' "The Evacuation of India;" and Colonel Malleson's "History of the Sepoy Mutiny." Holkar's rebellious troops soon afterwards laid down their arms.

JALAU.²—When it was known that the Europeans at Jhansi had been massacred, the men of the 53rd native infantry abandoned their colours, and the Jhansi rebels marching in on the 15th of June, murdered all the Europeans who fell into their power. Meanwhile the Gursarat Raja, Kesho Rao, adopted a waiting policy, while assuming supreme authority in the district. He detained a few European officers for some months, but after the defeat of the infamous Nana Sahib and his flight from Cawnpur, he sent overtures to General Neill for their release. After sending them in safety to Cawnpur he established himself at Jalaun; but when the rebel chief, Tantia Topi, arrived there in October, dissensions broke out; the Raja was deposed,

¹ *Hansi*, lat. 29° 6' 19" N., long. 76° 0' 19" E.; 16 miles E. of Hissar, on the Hissar and Delhi road; population, 12,656.

² *Jalaun*, lat. 26° 8' 32" N., long. 79° 22' 42" E.; population, 10,057.

his son was seized by the rebels, and the Jalaun mutineers, joining with those of Gwalior, marched to Cawnpur. In May 1858, after the capture of Jhansi, Sir Hugh Rose advanced into the district and soundly beat the rebels at Kuneh. There he left some of Kesho Rao's troops, with a deputy-commissioner in charge, the Raja having renewed his allegiance. On May 24 Sir Hugh Rose drove the rebels from their strong position at Kalpi, pursuing them towards Gwalior. As his force was too small for any troops to be left as garrisons, the western portion of the district was again ravaged by the fires of rebellion; the sepoys attacked and pillaged Kuneh and Jalaun, and though the latter town was quickly recovered, it was not until September that the guerilla warfare carried on by different bands of rebels was entirely put down.

JHANSI.¹—This was one of the principal centres of rebellion in 1857, the seeds having been sown by the impolitic and unsympathetic conduct of the Indian Government. When the Raja Gongadhar Rao died without issue in 1853, his state was formed into a superintendency, and a pension granted to his widow, the Rani (a woman of rare courage, high spirit, and mental vigour), who was refused permission to adopt an heir and forced to pay her husband's debts. At the same time the Hindu population was angered because the slaughter of kine was allowed and the grants formerly made to the Hindu temples taken away. The outbreak of the Mutiny was a welcome opportunity of throwing off an authority hateful equally to the Rani and her former subjects. Captain Skene, the political agent, and Captain Dunlop, commander of the garrison, which was composed wholly of native troops, confided absolutely in the Rani, who, indeed, so impressed Captain Skene with a conviction of her loyalty, that he granted her permission to enlist a body of armed men for her own protection from any rebellious attack. Thereupon she secretly and swiftly summoned the old soldiers of the state to her standard, and caused to be unearthed the heavy guns which had been buried at the time of her husband's death. This action on her part was, however, unsuspected by the two captains, whose tranquil confidence was not disturbed even by the burning of European bungalows. They were rudely awakened on the 6th of June, when the sepoys seized the Star Fort, and shot

¹ *Jhansi*, lat. 25° 27' 30" N., long. 78° 37' E. Both the city and fort now belong to Gwalior.

down Captain Dunlop in the highroad. Next day the rebellion spread, infantry and cavalry alike turning upon their officers, three of whom fell victims to the treachery of the men they had trusted. The remainder, with several civilians, women, and children, to the number of fifty-five in all, took refuge in the larger fort, and gallantly repelled an attack made by the mutineers. But as they had neither guns nor provisions, a successful defence seemed impossible, and three gentlemen were sent to the Rani to treat with her for the retirement of the Europeans to a place of security in British territory. Declaring that "she had no concern with the English swine," she gave up the unfortunate envoys to the soldiers, who murdered them immediately. Another attack on the fort was defeated. The heavy guns were then placed in position, but so unskillfully plied that they did no execution, while the musketry of the besieged laid low many a swarthy adversary. Despairing of success by force, the Rani resorted to stratagem. She sent messengers under a flag of truce demanding a parley, and offered that, if the Europeans would lay down their arms and surrender the fort, they should be escorted to some other station. As the Rani swore to these terms on the Kuran and Ganges water, they were accepted; but no sooner had the Europeans issued from the fort than the rebels fell upon them, bound them, and conveyed them to a garden called the Jokan Bagh, where they were halted under a cluster of trees and ranged in three lines, the adult males in the first, the adult females in the second, and the children in the third. Need we say more? Not one—not one was spared.

The Rani had obtained her end. She became Rani of Jhansi, and proved herself a capable ruler. "She opened a mint, fortified the strong places, cast cannon, raised fresh troops. Into every act of her government she threw all the energy of a strong and resolute character. Possessing considerable personal attractions, being young, vigorous, and not afraid to show herself to the multitude, she gained a great influence over the hearts of her people. It was this influence, this force of character, added to a splendid and inspiring courage, that enabled her some months later to offer to the British troops, under Sir Hugh Rose [afterwards Lord Strathnairn], a resistance which, made to a less able commander, might even have been successful."¹

¹ Colonel Malleeson's *History of the Sepoy Mutiny*, i. 191.

The Central India field-force, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, consisting of about 6000 men (of whom 2500 were British), set out from Indore early in January 1858, drove the rebels out of Sehore, traversed Bhopal and Bhilsa, captured the strong fort of Rhatgarh on the 29th, relieved Sagar, forced the pass of Mudanpur in the Vindhya Mountains, and, descending into the level country, advanced upon Jhansi, where it arrived on the 21st of March. Jhansi stands in the heart of extensive woods, and was surrounded by a wall of solid masonry from 6 to 12 feet thick and 18 to 30 feet high, flanked with bastions for heavy guns and loopholed for musketry. Within the town, and surrounded by it on all sides except the west, where the rock which it crowns with its ramparts of granite and its lofty towers terminates in a precipitous declivity, stands the fort or citadel. Sir Hugh Rose determined that it was accessible only on the south side, planted his batteries accordingly, and opened on it so fierce and continuous a fire, that even those solid walls began to crumble, and gave signs that a practicable breach would soon be effected. But on the evening of March the 31st, a large rebel army, under Tantia Topi, was found to be marching from Kalpi to the Rani's assistance; and Sir Hugh Rose's small force was soon called upon to contend with this formidable opponent while holding in check a garrison of 12,000 men. All the troops that could be spared from the siege did not exceed 1200, and of these only 500 were British; but Sir Hugh Rose did not hesitate. Moving out of camp, he found the enemy massed near the bank of the Betwa, and on the morning of the 1st of April delivered his assault. After a well-directed cannonade, which tore great gaps in the dense ranks before him, he launched his cavalry at both wings, and before the sepoy recovered from the confusion into which these charges threw them, sent forward his infantry with the bayonet. A complete victory was the result; all the enemy's guns were captured and nearly one thousand of their number lay dead on the field. Two days later the victorious soldiers stormed the fort of Jhansi, and after three days' fighting carried both the fort and the town with immense slaughter (April 6th). The Rani, however, effected her escape, galloping away full speed on a grey horse, attended only by a few followers.

Leaving a strong garrison in Jhansi, Sir Hugh Rose on the 29th advanced against Kalpi, where it was understood that the

rebels, who had assembled from different quarters, had determined to stand at bay. Crushing an attempted opposition at Kuneh, he pushed forward under a burning Indian sun, which weakened his ranks by sunstroke and disease, till he came upon the enemy in order of battle prepared to defend the Kalpi road (May 22nd). The action which ensued was desperately fought, and the issue seemed a little doubtful, but Sir Hugh once more called upon his men to use the bayonet, and before the stern hurrah of the British infantry, as they charged with levelled steel, the sepoy's fled panic-stricken. Kalpi¹ was immediately taken, with large quantities of ammunition, military stores, and plunder. The end, however, was not yet, and the British general next advanced to replace Sindhia on his throne at Gwalior. The command of the rebels was on this occasion taken by the warrior Rani, who, clothed in male attire and superbly mounted, moved about the field with the coolness of a veteran commander, and incited her fighting men to do their best and bravest. The action was prolonged over two days, and ended, of course, in the destruction of the sepoy host and the recovery of the fort and citadel of Gwalior (June 19th). The Rani perished on the well-fought field, but her body was never discovered, probably having been carried off and buried with due honours by her faithful attendants. This great victory ended the campaign, and the Central India field-force was broken up, its services being no longer required.

KOTAH.²—By a treaty made in 1838 the Maharao of Kotah agreed to maintain an auxiliary force at a cost of not less than three lakhs of rupees. This auxiliary force, known as the Kotah contingent, mutinied in 1857. The Maharao's troops also mutinied and murdered Major Burton, the political agent, and his two sons. With the assistance of a single servant, a camel-driver, these brave men defended themselves for four hours, until at length the Residency was set on fire, and Major Burton, perceiving the hopelessness of the position, proposed to surrender on condition that the mob spared the lives of his sons. The young men at once rejected the offer, saying they would all die together. They knelt down and prayed for the last time, and then with calm heroism met their fate. The mob, having procured scaling-ladders, gained the roof, and rushed

¹ *Kalpi*, lat. 26° 7' 30" N., long. 79° 47' 15" E.; on the N. bank of the Jumna, and on the Nasirabad-Sagar road; population, 40,270.

² *Kotah*, lat. 25° 10' N., long. 75° 52' E.; on N. bank of the Chambul.

in and slew their victims, the servant alone escaping. Major Burton's head was cut off and paraded through the town, and then fired from a gun, but by the Maharaja's orders the three bodies were interred that evening. In March 1858 Major-General H. G. Roberts, at the head of an army of 6000 men intended for the pacification of Rajputana, marched upon Kotah through the Mukandara Pass. Since the murder of Major Burton anarchy had prevailed in that state. "The sepoys, having tasted the pleasures of revolt, drained the cup to its very dregs. They imprisoned the Maharao in his palace. They then forced him to sign a paper consisting of nine articles, one of which was to the effect that he had ordered the murder of Major Burton. The Maharao endeavoured by compliance to keep the rebels in good-humour, but meanwhile he dispatched messengers to the Raja of Karadi begging him to send troops to his aid. The Raja complied, and his troops, faithful to their liege lord, drove the rebels from the part of the town of Kotah in which the palace was situated and released the Maharao. They were still occupying it for the defence of that prince when Roberts arrived in Rajputana. The rebels, however, occupied the other part of the town, reduced already by pillage and other excesses to extreme misery." Roberts on the 22nd of March encamped on the north bank of the Chambul, opposite Kotah. He found the rebels in complete possession of the south bank, which they had lined with their guns. Early on the 25th he was informed that the rebels were attacking the palace with a view to seize the prey. He immediately sent across 300 men of the 83rd to the Maharao's assistance, and the attack was repulsed. On the 27th he himself crossed over with 600 men of the 93rd and a couple of 9-pounders, and having placed the heavy guns in the fort so as to bear on the enemy's camp, he hurled upon it a storm of shot and shell. On the 30th, whilst the remainder of the force cannonaded the position of the rebels from the north bank, he marched from the fort in three columns along the river side, and carried it with little loss, capturing fifty guns. The British remained in Kotah for three weeks, and at the end of that time, the Maharao's authority being completely re-established, General Roberts evacuated it and marched back to Nasirabad.

KURAI¹ formed part of the country which the Peshwa in

¹ *Kurai*, lat. 24° 2' 30" N., long. 78° 22' 30" E.; 34 miles N.W. of Sagar; population, 5370.

1818 ceded to the British. In July 1857 the Raja of Banpur invested the town, whereupon the *tahsildar* surrendered the fort and joined the rebels. They occupied the place until February 1858, when Sir Hugh Rose inflicted a severe defeat on the rebel Raja at Baroda Nawanagar.

LAHORE.¹—During the Mutiny of 1857 a plot among the native troops at Meean Meer (Mian Mir), the cantonment adjoining this great historic city²—beautified and enriched by the great Mughal emperors Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb—for seizing the citadel, was timeously discovered and frustrated by the disarming of the mutinous regiments under the guns of a battery of horse-artillery, supported by a British infantry regiment. Throughout the early period of the rebellion a good deal of excitement prevailed here. In July the 26th native infantry revolted at Meean Meer, and after murdering some of their officers, succeeded in effecting their escape under cover of a dust-storm or whirlwind. The British force, however, went in swift pursuit, came up with them on the bank of the Ravi, and exacted a signal vengeance.

LALITPUR.³—This modern district formed part of the Bundela state of Chanderi, which was captured in 1811 by the Maharaja Sindhia, and ceded by him in 1844 to the British Government. When the Mutiny occurred, Murdom Singh, Raja of Banpur, who was wroth with the Paramount Power for denying him certain honours, incited the Bundela chiefs to rise in revolt, he himself occupying the passes in the Ghats on the south, and opening up communications with the Jhansi rebels. After a period of internal discord the Raja made good his position as ruler, threw off all allegiance to the Paramount Power, raised revenues in his own name, levied tribute from the trading classes, and established a cannon-factory at Banpur. He also held the northern portions of Sagar district until the advance of the Central India field-force in January 1858, when, on being defeated at Banawadhia, he fell back into the Chanderi territory. It was not until October 1858 that Lalitpur was recovered and our authority restored, and then only after severe and continuous fighting.

¹ *Lahore*, lat. $31^{\circ} 34' 5''$ N., long. $74^{\circ} 21'$ E.; one mile S. of the river Ravi; population, 149,369.

² *Meean Meer* lies six miles from the city, and is usually garrisoned by a force of 3500 to 4000 of all arms.

³ *Lalitpur*, lat. $24^{\circ} 41' 30''$ N., long. $78^{\circ} 27' 50''$ E.; on the Jhansi and Sagar road, close to the W. bank of the Sahjad Nadi; population, 10,674.

MAINPURI.¹—On the 22nd of May 1857, after intelligence of the revolt at Aligarh had reached this station, the 9th native infantry followed the evil example of its comrades. Their officers, Lieutenants Crawford and De Kantzno, endeavoured to induce them to march out peaceably, but on reaching the limits of their parade-ground, the men refused to proceed further, and hurled menaces at their officers, some even firing at them. In the confusion that followed the officers were separated. De Kantzno dismounted, and Crawford, unable to see him for the tumult, and believing he had been killed, galloped back to warn the civilians of the outbreak, and inform them of his intention to ride to Agra for assistance. He found in consultation Mr. Cocks, the commissioner, Mr. Power, the magistrate, Dr. Watson, and Mr. Kellner, a missionary. The commissioner declared that no one in the circumstances was bound to remain, and abandoned the post of duty, then, as so often, the post of danger. Far otherwise was the conduct of the other civilians, some eight in all, who resolved to hold their ground, and were loyally joined by Rao Bhowani Singh, first cousin of the Raja of Mainpuri, with a small force of horse and foot.

“Meanwhile,” says Malleeson, “De Kantzno, dismounted, had been opposing to the mutinous sepoys a firm and courageous will. He implored them, he upbraided them, he threatened them. Muskets were levelled at him in vain. The courageous attitude of the solitary officer, endeavouring to recall to duty men whose hearts told them they were doing wrong, overbore for the moment physical force. Not, indeed, that he entirely mastered the sepoys, but they did not kill him. They still rushed on madly towards the treasury, bearing with them their earnestly gesticulating, madly imploring lieutenant. Arrived at the iron gates of the treasury, De Kantzno made one last appeal. Turning suddenly from his own sepoys, he threw himself on the loyalty of the civil guard of thirty men posted to protect the Government money. They responded; they rallied round him; the officials of the jail added their efforts, and for the first time since the actual outbreak on the parade-ground the torrent was stemmed.

“Even more—it was stopped. Not, indeed, at the instant. De Kantzno, with a wisdom beyond his years, avoided pre-

¹ *Mainpuri*, lat. 27° 14' 15" N., long. 79° 3' 5" E.; 36 miles from Shikohabad, on the Agra branch of the Grand Trunk Road; population, 20,236.

cipitating a conflict. He forbade the civil guard to fire, but drew it up to oppose a resolute front to the halted sepoy, whilst with all the energy of an excited nature he again implored them not to add plunder and murder to mutiny. For three hours his arguments, backed by the physical efforts of the civil guard, kept the rebels at bay.

"The iron gates to the last resisted all the efforts made to force them. It is possible that, unaided, De Kantzno might even have persuaded the mutineers to withdraw. But help, not in numbers, but in influence greater than his own, brought about this coveted result. When almost exhausted by his efforts, he was joined by Rao Bhowani Singh, deputed by the magistrate, Mr. Power. The arguments of this gentleman added to those of De Kantzno were successful. The sepoy agreed to withdraw, provided that the Rao should accompany them. He did this, and the treasury was saved. The sepoy, after plundering their lines and other buildings, left the station. Their repulse and departure restored order and confidence throughout the city and district of Mainpuri."

On the 29th, however, the arrival of the Jhansi mutineers compelled the Europeans to abandon the district. Mr. Power and his party were accompanied as far as Shikohabad by the Gwalior troops, who then refused to obey orders, and, without molesting their officers, quietly returned home. The fugitives arrived at Agra in safety. Next day, Mainpuri was attacked by the Jhansi rebels, whom, however, the peaceable portion of the population contrived to beat off. The district was then held in order by the Raja of Mainpuri, who, on the termination of the Mutiny, showed a loyal alacrity in surrendering himself and acknowledging the Suzerain Power.

MANDRAK.—This is a village on the Agra road, in the Aligarh district, North-Western Provinces, seven miles from Koil. The indigo factory here, from the 12th of May until the 2nd of July, in the year of mutiny, was gallantly defended by Mr. Watson and eleven Europeans against a Musalman mob of rebels estimated at 1000.

MORADABAD.¹—This town in 1857 was garrisoned by one native regiment, the 29th infantry, and by half a battery of native artillery. In spite of all temptations, the sepoy troops remained at first true to their colours, and even went out

¹ *Moradabad*, lat. 28° 49' 55" N., long. 78° 49' 30" E.; on the river Ramganga; 48 miles N.W. of Bareilly.

under their officers, and attacked some bands of mutineers; but as time wore on, and the country all around them seethed with rebellion, and they caught up the lying whispers of the intention of the British Government to violate their caste, their fidelity gave way, and on learning that the insurrection had triumphed at Bareilly, they caught the contagion, and on the 3rd of June seized upon the money in the treasury and all property belonging to the Government. As the police refused to act and the rabble began to move, the Europeans abandoned the station, the civilians and their wives making for Meerut, and the officers and their families for Naini Tal, and both happily reaching their destinations unmolested. On the 15th the Bareilly mutineers arrived, and absorbing the local rebels, marched on for Delhi. At the end of June the Nawab of Rampur took charge of the district for the British; but his authority was little better than nominal, and a rebel named Majju Khan virtually governed until the coming of General Jones's column, April 25, 1858, when the Mutiny was put down, and he was hanged.

MUZAFFARNAGAR.¹—This station, about midway between Saharanpur and Meerut (Mirath), was occupied by a detachment of the 20th native infantry, the regiment unhappily conspicuous in the outbreak at Meerut. It was undoubtedly prepared to follow the example of the main body, but it remained quiet for three days, when it was precipitated into action by the unfortunate pusillanimity of Mr. Berford, the magistrate, who ordered all the public offices to be closed, as if British rule had been suspended, and took refuge in a small house in the town, withdrawing the guards from the jail for his own protection. The necessary result of this ill-advised measure was a general rising. The sepoy broke open the treasury, carried away all they could, and marched for Moradabad. On the 1st July Mr. Edwards arrived from Saharanpur with a body of Gurkhas, and by vigorous measures soon reasserted the supremacy of the law and re-established the authority of the British Government.

NAGINA.²—During the Mutiny this town was the scene of several engagements, as well as of the final defeat of the rebels

¹ *Muzaffarnagar*, lat. 29° 28' 10" N., long. 77° 44' E.; on the Meerut and Landaur road, and Sind and Delhi railway; population, 15,080.

² *Nagina*, lat. 29° 27' 5" N., long. 78° 28' 50" E.; 48 miles N.W. of Moradabad; population, 20,504.

on April 21, 1858, which crushed out the rebellion in Bijnaur district.

NAGPUR.¹—A plot against the British was formed here by the irregular cavalry in conjunction with the Musalmans of the city; and it was agreed that a rising should take place on the night of June the 13th, the signal to be given by the ascent of a fire-balloon. To beguile the British authorities, the troopers formally volunteered for service against the rebels in Upper India. They were taken at their word, and on the 13th, some hours before the time of the projected outbreak, were ordered to march toward Sime as part of a column moving northwards from Kamptu or Kamthi. Taken by surprise, they sent a *dafandur*, named Daud Khan, to rouse the regiment in the infantry lines; but he was arrested by the first man whom he addressed, and in due time met with his deserts. It was then discovered that the troopers were saddling their horses; a general alarm prevailed; the women and children were sent off to Kamthi, and troops summoned from the garrison there; cannon were mounted to defend the arsenal; and the heavy guns on the Sitabaldi Hill got ready for action. If the regular infantry and cavalry kept to their allegiance, the British officers felt that all would go well. Lieutenant Cambridge repaired to the lines to take command, and found that the infantry had fallen in of their own accord, and were ready to obey orders. Then it became evident to the Musalman confederates that their craftily laid scheme had failed, and no fire-balloon glittered on high. Dejectedly and with shamed faces the troopers unsaddled their horses, and the regular infantry and cavalry being massed in front and on each flank, they were deprived of their arms and expelled from the camp. Several of the native officers and two leading Musulmans were tried and convicted of high treason, sentenced to death, and hanged from the ramparts of the fort overlooking the city. In this way did Nagpur escape the horrors of the great Mutiny.

NARYAND.²—This is the capital of a small principality, which in 1857 belonged to Bhaskar Rao, *alias* Baba Sahib. His mind poisoned by the prevailing infection, he threw off his allegiance to the British Government, and murdered Mr.

¹ Nagpur, lat. 21° 9' 30" N., long. 79° 7' E.; on the little river Nag; population, 98,299.

² Naryand, lat. 15° 43' 22" N., long. 75° 25' 30" E.; 60 miles E. of Belgaum, Bombay Presidency; population, 7874.

Manson, the political agent for the Southern Maratha country. A British detachment from Bombay immediately marched upon Naryand, and speedily recaptured fort and town. The fortifications have since been dismantled.

NASIRABAD.¹—The garrison here in 1857 consisted of the 15th and 30th native infantry, a battery of native artillery, and the 1st Bombay lancers. When the Meerut outbreak took place, the officers adopted every possible precaution for the safety of the station. Every night the cantonment was patrolled by parties of the lancers, whose fidelity was not suspected, the guns were kept limbered up and loaded with grape. But about 3 P.M. on May 28th, some men of the 15th suddenly rushed to the guns, with loaded muskets, and declared themselves in revolt. "The guns almost simultaneously opened fire. The officers galloped down to the lines, and attempted to bring their men to reason, but in vain. Muskets were pointed, in some cases fired at them, and they were warned to be off. The 30th, which till then had remained quiescent, apparently in a state of hesitation, joined the revolters about four o'clock. There still remained the lancers; these at least would remain true. In this belief the infantry and artillery officers joined them, hoping with them to charge the rebels. They did charge. But the guns loaded with grape opened upon them. The men had no heart in the business. I have said that they charged. But it would have been more correct to state that they made several feints to charge. They never rode home. One of the officers, Newbuy, who did charge home, was cut down and hacked to pieces, Captain Spottiswoode also was killed, and two officers, Captain Hardy and Lieutenant Loch, were badly wounded. Thus it was that, feeling all their efforts useless, the officers resolved to retreat and accompany the ladies to Biaoer." It is pleasant to record that the journey was made in safety. As the sepoys obtained no encouragement from the townsfolk, they marched away to Delhi, and on the 12th of June a British detachment under Brigadier-General Lawrence reoccupied Nasirabad.

NAWABGANJ, in Oudh, 17 miles east of Lucknow, on the Fyzabad road, was the scene in 1858 of a splendid victory over the rebels won by that fine soldier, Sir Hope Grant.

¹ *Nasirabad*, lat. 26° 18' 45" N., long. 74° 47' E.; town and cantonment in Ajmere-Merwara; population, 21,320.

PESHAWAR.¹—During the Mutiny the native regiments stationed here showed signs of disaffection, but the prompt action of the authorities in disarming them in May 1857 prevented a dangerous outbreak. The 55th native infantry, quartered at Naushahra and Hoti Marden, broke out into actual revolt; and when General Nicholson marched to attack them, they retreated across the Swat Hills. Nicholson advanced in swift pursuit, overtook them, and beat them easily. They lost 120 killed and 150 taken prisoners. The rest fled to the hills and concealed themselves in the border valleys and passes, but were hunted down by the friendly clans till they perished of cold, hunger, and exposure, or were brought into the British camp as prisoners, and summarily hanged or blown away from cannon. This prompt and terrible retribution effectually crushed the spirit of rebellion in the Peshawar district.

PHAPHUND.²—This town suffered severely in the course of the insurrection which swept over the Etawah district in 1857. It was twice plundered and burnt by the rebels.

PILIBHIT.³—Pilibhit subdivision of Bareilly district was in 1857 under the charge of Mr. Carmichael, joint-magistrate. As a matter of necessity, the wave of rebellion which rose in Bareilly invaded it, and on the 1st of June the inhabitants displayed unusual excitement and insubordination. Fanatical Muhammadans, low castes, and the rabble generally, surrounded the treasury in the hope of plunder. The leading citizens, whom the magistrate had intrusted with the task of removing the treasure to a place of safety, quarrelled among themselves, and the town was given up to strife and tumult. Mr. Carmichael and his family escaped to Naini Tal, and the villages of Pilibhit subdivision groaned under the oppressions of rival zamindars, while the town was tyrannically ruled by Khan Bahadur Khan, the rebel Nawab of Bareilly. The more orderly and respectable classes gladly welcomed the restoration of British authority, and Pilibhit has since been peaceful and prosperous, except when, in 1871, a sanguinary riot

¹ *Peshawar*, lat. $34^{\circ} 1' 45''$ N., long. $71^{\circ} 36' 40''$ E.; near the left bank of the Bara; 276 miles from Lahore; about 11 miles from the Khaibar Pass; population, 79,982; garrison, about 7000.

² *Phaphund*, lat. $26^{\circ} 35' 30''$ N., long. $79^{\circ} 30' 25''$ E.; 36 miles E. of Etawah; population, 7796.

³ *Pilibhit*, lat. $28^{\circ} 38' 30''$ N., long. $79^{\circ} 50' 50''$ E.; on left bank of the Devha; 30 miles N.E. of Bareilly.

occurred between the Muhammadan and Hindu factions on the occasion of a Hindu festival.

RAHATGARH.¹—This town shared in the mutinous spirit that unfortunately prevailed throughout the Sagar district; and in 1857 Nawab Adil Muhammad Khan, and his brother, Fazl Muhammad Khan, descendants of Sultan Muhammad Khan, with a large body of mutinous sepoys and others, seized the fort, and held it until it was besieged and captured, after a severe bombardment, by Sir Hugh Rose's army in January 1858. This fort, one of the principal strongholds in Central India, crowns the spur of a lofty ridge to the west of the town, and occupied, it is said, fifty years in construction. The outer defences consist of twenty-six huge towers connected by lofty walls, and enclose an area of sixty-six acres. The rock on which it stands exhibits scarped precipices on the east and south. A deep ditch protects the fort on the north, and on the west it is strengthened by several bastions. Sir Hugh Rose erected, not without strenuous exertions, a mortar and a breaching battery on the east side, and opened fire on January 27th at a distance of 300 yards, with so much effect, that on the following evening a breach of nearly a hundred yards was practicable, and preparations were made for the assault. The governor, however, regarding discretion as the better part of valour, clambered down the steep declivity on the west, which, as apparently impracticable, a body of Bhopal troops had guarded with culpable carelessness, and made his escape. The fort is now in ruins.

RAMGARH.²—This town, with the title of Raja, was bestowed by Raja Narendra Sá in 1680 on a friendly chief, whose representative, Raja Shankar Sá, was executed as a rebel at Jabulpur in 1857. The Rani, who then represented the family on behalf of her lunatic son, Aman Singh, seized Ramgarh in her son's name. A woman of rare courage, she headed her troops in several skirmishes with British detachments, but was at length defeated with great loss, and compelled to flee for her life. Finding herself in peril of capture, she dismounted, and plunged a sword into her own bosom. But the wound not proving immediately mortal, she was overtaken and car-

¹ *Rahatgarh*, lat. 33° 47' N., long. 78° 25' E.; 25 miles W. of Sagar; population, 4013.

² *Ramgarh*, lat. 22° 47' N., long. 81° E.; on a rocky eminence above the Burhner, in the Mandla district.

ried into the British camp, where she soon afterwards expired. Aman Singh and his two sons were also made prisoners. The former was deprived of his title of Raja and of his estate, but a small annual pension was granted for the support of the family.

RAWAL PINDI.¹—In 1849 Rawal Pindi passed, with the rest of the Sikh dominions, under British rule, and its administration was generally peaceful until the outbreak of the great Mutiny. "The long anarchy and internecine strife," says Sir W. Hunter, "of Sikh and Ghakkar could not be forgotten, especially in a wild and lonely region, where British organisation extends with difficulty to the remote gorges and scattered hamlets of a rocky labyrinth. The events of 1857 offered an outlet for the smouldering passions of ancestral feud, and the Murai (Marri) Hills became the scene of an attempted insurrection. The authorities received information from a faithful native of a projected attack upon the station, in time to concert measures for defence. The ladies, who were present in large numbers, were placed in safety; the Europeans and police were drawn up in a cordon around the station; and when the enemy arrived, expecting no resistance, they met with a hot reception, which caused them to withdraw in disorder, and shortly after to disband themselves."

ROHTAK.²—This district of the Punjab, adjoining Delhi east and Hissar west, was one of the hotbeds, so to speak, of the 1857 Mutiny. Its Muhammadan tribes made common cause with those of Guryam and Hissar, and broke out into insurrection under the Nawabs of Farukhnagar, Jhajjar, and Bahadurgarh, and the Bhalti chieftains of Sirsa and Hissar. They attacked and plundered the civil station at Rohtak, destroying all the records of administration. But before the fall of Delhi a body of Punjab levies was brought across the Sutlaj, and order was promptly restored. The rebel Nawabs of Jhajjar and Bahadurgarh were taken prisoners and tried. The former was executed at Delhi, the latter was exiled to Lahore. Their estates were confiscated, part of them being temporarily erected into a new district of Jhajjar, while other portions were bestowed, as rewards for their loyal services, on the Rajas of Jind, Patiala,

¹ *Rawal Pindi*, lat. 33° 37' N., long. 73° 6' E.; on the N. bank of the river Leh; contains cantonments of great importance, covering an area of three miles by two miles, and garrisoned by two regiments of British infantry and one of British cavalry, two regiments native infantry and one native cavalry, with two batteries of artillery (horse and field); population, 52,975.

² *Rohtak*, lat. 28° 54' N., long. 76° 38' E.; 42 miles N.W. of Delhi; population, 15,699.

and Nabha. Rohtak district, which had previously been administered under the Resident at Delhi, was transferred to the Punjab Government; and in 1860, Jhajjar being done away with, part of it was divided among the above-named Rajas and part united with Rohtak.

SADABAD.¹—This town was attacked by the Jat rebels in 1857, but they were gallantly repulsed, though not without a loss of seven lives among the defenders. On the Hindu Rajput who led the defence was bestowed as a reward a village in Aligarh district; two of the Jat ringleaders were hanged.

SAGAR.²—In this district the Mutiny assumed formidable proportions. The regiments stationed in the town of Sagar in 1857 were the 31st and the 42nd native infantry, the 3rd irregular cavalry, and a few European gunners, under Brigadier Sage. On the 27th of June, the Brigadier, as a measure of precaution, ordered the European residents and artillery to move into the fort, with all the arms they could collect and the Government treasure. This was effected just in time, for immediately thereafter the 42nd and the cavalry mutinied, plundered the town, and committed many acts of incendiarism. The 31st, however, remained loyal, and advancing against the mutineers, drove them into retreat towards Shahgarh. When the outbreak became known, the Raja of Bhanpur seized upon Kurai, the Raja of Shahgarh on Banda, Rehli, and Garhakota, and the Nawab of Garhi Amapani on the fort of Rahatgarh. Thus, while the British retained the fort and town of Sagar, the surrounding country was entirely in the hands of the rebels. This state of affairs was happily altered when the Central India field-force, under Sir Hugh Rose, accomplished the brilliant campaign of 1858. After capturing Rahatgarh, defeating Mardan Singh at Barodia Naunagar, and sweeping the country round Rahatgarh and Kurai clear of rebels, he advanced upon Garhakota, where he defeated the troops of the Raja of Shahgarh and seized the fort, in which was found a large quantity of treasure. Encountering the remainder of the Raja's forces at Madanpur, he almost annihilated them. The Raja gave himself up at Maraura, and was sent as a state prisoner to Lahore; his dominions were confiscated.

¹ *Sadabad*, lat. $27^{\circ} 26' 13''$ N., long. $73^{\circ} 4' 42''$ E.; in the Muttra district; population, 3295.

² *Sagar*, lat. $23^{\circ} 49' 50''$ N., long. $78^{\circ} 48' 45''$ E.; on the bank of a fine lake; population, 44,416.

SAHARANPUR.¹—When information of the Meerut outbreak was received, the European women and children were sent, under safe escort, to the hills. The male Europeans, together with the clerks and Eurasians, then united and occupied the magistrate's house, where they were threatened with various dangers and difficulties. "Now it was the mutiny at the not distant station of Muzaffarnagar; now it was the approach of two mutinous companies of the sappers and miners, and a combination of the villagers to attack them. This last-named danger, a very serious one, was warded off by acting on the principle, so conspicuous during the Mutiny, that 'boldness is prudence.' Instead of waiting for the intended onslaught, Mr. Robertson, the assistant-magistrate, enlisting in his cause some influential and well-disposed landowners, anticipated it, attacking and capturing the conspirators. Continuing to pursue this policy, Mr. Robertson, taking with him a few of the 4th lancers (native), a detachment of the 29th native infantry, and some police, proceeded to the most important and the most disaffected parts of the district to assert British authority. By a combination of tact and daring Mr. Robertson accomplished a great deal. He soon ascertained, however, that the landowners sympathised with the rabble, and that the fact that rebellion, not plunder, was their object, would make his task extremely difficult. Further success would depend, he felt, on the fidelity of the sepoys. But soon amongst them appeared the usual symptoms of disaffection. On the 30th of May Mr. Robertson had been joined by two companies of the 5th regiment of native infantry. These mutinied on the 3rd of June. But Mr. Robertson still continued his noble efforts in the cause of order, nor, though the detachment of the 29th native infantry revolted on the 11th of July, did he or his superior once relax their hold on the district. This was still virtually British when the fall of Delhi removed from the native mind the calculations which till then had inspired them to resist."

SAMBALPUR.²—Disaffection had been excited in this district by "a system of exaction and confiscation;" so that when the Mutiny broke out, it found here a fertile field. The sepoys released from jail Surendra Sá, the representative of the former

¹ *Saharanpur*, lat. 29° 58' 15" N., long. 77° 35' 15" E.; in the Damaula Nadi (North-Western Provinces); population, 59,194.

² *Sambalpur*, lat. 21° 27' 10" N., long. 84° 1' E.; on N. bank of the Mahanadi; population, 13,939.

Rajas, and his brother, who were at once joined by nearly all the chiefs in the district. Surendra Sá collected a large force and took up his residence in the old fort, but was induced to surrender to Captain Leigh. Soon afterwards, however, he made his escape and fled to the hills, where, at the head of a band of desperate miscreants, he committed every kind of atrocity. The friendly villages were plundered and burnt, European officers killed, and the attempts of the British troops to hunt him down proved unsuccessful. In 1861, when Major Impey took charge of the district, he adopted a policy of conciliation, and by liberally rewarding the chiefs who submitted, succeeded in dispersing the marauders. In May 1862 Surendra Sá himself came in, but in the following year the disturbances were renewed. Sambalpur had recently been incorporated with the Central Provinces, and when Sir Richard Temple, the Chief Commissioner, paid his first visit, a petition was presented to him praying for the restoration of native rule in the person of Surendra Sá. This was followed by the insurrection of Kamal Singh, one of his lieutenants, and a recrudescence of outrages leading to the arrest of Surendra Sá on January 23, 1864. No absolute proof of his share in the rebellion was forthcoming, but it was deemed advisable to imprison him, with some of his kinsmen and partisans, and the district has since been entirely tranquil.

SHAHJAHANPUR.¹—News of the mutiny at Meerut arrived here on the 13th of May; but the Europeans continued to trust the sepoys, apprehending danger only from the notoriously turbulent population. By degrees, however, insubordination became manifest among the troops; and on Sunday, May the 31st, while the Europeans were at church, the sepoys of the 28th rushed in upon them. Hearing a noise outside, the chaplain went to the church-door, was at once attacked, and had his right hand struck off by a sabre-stroke. He was afterwards killed by some villagers. Mr. Ricketts, the magistrate, also received a sword-cut. He attempted to escape to his house, but was cut down when he had gone not more than thirty-five yards. There were other victims. Meanwhile, the survivors organised a hasty defence, and placing the ladies in the church-turret, succeeded in barring the doors against their enemies, who, on seeing the approach of a solitary officer with his gun,

¹ *Shahjahanpur*, lat. 27° 53' 41" N., long. 79° 57' 30" E.; on the river Deoha; 47 miles from Bareilly.

made off at once for their lines to get their muskets. Almost immediately afterwards the small company in the church were gratified by the arrival of their faithful domestic servants, bringing with them their masters' guns and rifles. Thus armed, the Englishmen ventured to open the doors, and outside were not only their horses and carriages, but, clustering round about them, 100 sepoys, principally Sikhs, who had hastened to the defence of their masters.

Within the cantonments murder had been done and the bungalows fired, and to the little band of Europeans the sole available course seemed to be to make for the residence of the Raja of Pawayan, across the Oudh frontier, but only four miles distant. They arrived there next day, but the Raja refused them shelter, and they had to go on to Muhamdi, where they arrived two days later in a terrible plight. The mutineers then burnt the station, plundered the treasury, and marched to join their comrades at Bareilly. A rebel government under Kadir Ali Khan was proclaimed on June the 1st. On the 18th Ghulam Kadir Khan, the hereditary Nawab of Shahjahanpur, was appointed Nizam by Khan Bahadur Khan, and quietly deposed Kadir Ali. He held the dignity until January 1858, when the British troops reoccupied Fatehgarh. The Nawab of Fatehgarh then fled to Shahjahanpur, and on to Bareilly. The infamous Nana Sahib, after the fall of Lucknow, lay concealed here for ten days, and then he too fled to Bareilly. When Sir Colin Campbell, with the army of Oudh, arrived on April 30, 1858, hoping to entrap the treacherous leader of the rebels, he found that the fort and town had already been evacuated. Leaving a small garrison in Shahjahanpur, he pushed forward to Bareilly, where he defeated the mutineers, afterwards occupying the town. For nine days the garrison at Shahjahanpur was menaced by the Moulvi and a large sepoy force; but Sir Colin Campbell dispatched to their relief a column under Brigadier Jones, who on May the 1st attacked the rebels very smartly, and drove them from all their positions with great slaughter. British supremacy has since been unquestioned.

SHERAPUR.¹—The Raja sided with the rebels when the Mutiny took place, and on its suppression was sentenced to deportation, a punishment which he avoided by shooting himself.

¹ *Sherapur*, formerly a tributary state of the Nizam; lat. 16° 31' N., long. 76° 48' E.

SIALKOT.¹—The old fort, traditionally reputed to have been built about 70 A.D. by Raja Salwan, the founder of the city, and certainly boasting an antiquity of a thousand years, became the refuge during the Mutiny of the few European residents, who gallantly defended it against the insurgents.

SINGHBHUM ("Lion Land"), a district in Bengal, forming the south-eastern portion of the Chutia Nagpur division. In the year of the Mutiny the Parahat Raja, after remaining for some time undecided, cast in his lot with the rebels, and was followed by a considerable number of the Kols. An arduous campaign ensued, as the insurgents took refuge in the mountains, but ultimately they were hunted down, and in 1869 they surrendered. The Raja was afterwards taken prisoner, and peace restored.

SITAPUR.²—In 1857 three regiments of native infantry and a regiment of military police were quartered in the cantonments here. Much surprise was excited by the refusal, on June 2, of the 10th Oudh irregulars to consume the flour sent from the city, on the ground that it had been adulterated for the purpose of destroying their caste. The same men, on the same afternoon, pillaged the fruit-gardens of the European residents. It was evident that insubordination was increasing, but the European officers continued to believe each in the fidelity of his own regiment, while he distrusted that of the others. Colonel Birch, of the 41st native infantry, tested the loyalty of his by marching it out on the Lucknow road to meet the rebels advancing along it from the capital, and they had responded to the test by firing on their comrades, and compelling them to alter their route. Yet Mr. Christian, the commissioner, was not satisfied, and he invited the ladies of the station to remove to his house with their children. All but four, who preferred to remain with their husbands, accepted the offer. Mr. Christian's house was protected on one side by a rivulet, in front by four guns, which commanded the lines of the 41st, and on the flanks by the irregulars, in whom Mr. Christian was half inclined to place confidence. On the morning of the 3rd the loyal 41st plundered the treasury, and then advanced against the guns and the irregulars. Colonel Birch,

¹ *Sialkot*, lat. 32° 31' N., long. 74° 36' E.; 72 miles N.E. of Lahore; population (with cantonment), 45,762.

² *Sitapur*, lat. 27° 34' 5" N., long. 80° 42' 55" E.; half-way between Lucknow and Shahjahanpur; population, 18,544.

accompanied by Lieutenant Groves, rode down to recall his favourite sepoy to their duty. Alas! they were both shot down. The other regiments seemed immediately to be seized with a blood-fever, and fell upon their officers; then, intent on massacre, dashed yelling and shouting against the bungalow. There was no alternative but flight. Mr. Christian, who had gallantly started, rifle in hand, to meet the mutineers, saw that all was lost, and returned for his wife and child, with whom he succeeded in crossing the rivulet, but had scarcely reached the opposite bank when he was shot dead by his pursuers, as were his wife, her baby, and the nurse. Mr. Thornhill, a civil officer, was killed either in crossing the stream or just afterwards. Sir Mountstuart Jackson, his sister, Captain Barnes, Captain Orr, and others, escaped to the estate of the Mitholi Raja, who, however, was too timid to afford them protection; but he allowed them to lie concealed in the jungles near his fort, and supplied them with food, until, in October, they were conveyed to Lucknow. Other fugitives were sheltered by loyal zamindars, while one party found refuge in a village, and resided there for ten months, when they were rescued by a column of Lord Clyde's army. Some escaped to Lucknow. But if many thus escaped (some, alas! only temporarily), many perished; for on that day of blood the treacherous sepoy murdered twenty-four men, women, and children, all English. On the 13th of April 1858 Sir Hope Grant crushed the rebels near Biswan, and before the end of the year British law and order prevailed at Sitapur, as if the great Mutiny had been simply an evil dream.

THANA BHAWAN.¹—During the 1857 Mutiny the Shaikhzadas, under their Kazi, Mahbut Ali Khan, and his nephew, Inayat Ali, committed many acts of violence. On the 14th of September they captured the treasury at Shamli, and put to death the 113 men who had courageously defended it. When the Mutiny was suppressed the Shaikhzadas were duly punished, their ringleaders executed, and the wall of their town and its eight gates razed to the ground.

UDAIPUR.²—In 1857 a deposed Raja and his brother (who had been convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to im-

¹ *Thana Bhawan*, lat. 29° 35' N., long. 77° 27' 40" E.; 18 miles from Muzaffarnagar; population, 7628.

² *Udaipur*, a native state in Chutia, Nagpur, Bengal, lying between lat. 22° 3' 30" and 22° 47' N. and long. 83° 4' 30" and 83° 49' 30" E.

prisonment) made their way back to Udaipur, and for a brief period established their authority. In 1859 the survivor of the two brothers was captured, convicted of murder and rebellion, and transported for life to the Andaman Islands.

UNAO.¹—During the Sepoy Mutiny the inhabitants of Unao, in common with almost the whole population of Oudh, revolted against our authority, which for a time completely disappeared from the district. In the two campaigns for the relief and recovery of Lucknow, it became the scene of continual military operations, and Major-General Sir Henry Havelock's little army fought some severe actions here. Raja Jassa Singh, one of the principal talukdars or large landowners, was present in the revolt; seized and sent to the Nana Sahib at Cawnpur the fugitives from Fatehgarh, and led his retainers into battle against us. Having been shot in the head, he died from the effects of the wound. One of his sons was afterwards hanged; the other took to flight, and was no more heard of. The family estates were confiscated, and the villages either restored to their original owners, who had been deprived of them "by fraud or force," or bestowed upon loyal landholders as a reward for their services.

We now proceed to describe the two main incidents which determined the collapse of the rebellion—(1) the siege and recapture of Delhi, which deprived it of a centre, a rallying-place, and a nominal head; and (2) the defence of Lucknow and the conquest of Oudh, which deprived it of its principal feeding-ground and most promising field of operations.

1. *The Siege and Recapture of Delhi.*

In presence of a crisis so unprecedented and so overwhelming as the mutiny of the native army and the rebellion of Oudh, Lord Canning and his advisers may perhaps be forgiven if they did not awake all at once to a full comprehension of the extent and character of the danger that was upon them. There was, perhaps, at first a little hesitation, a little vacillation, a not unnatural unwillingness to believe the worst; but, on the whole, Lord Canning met the tremendous responsibility that

¹ *Unao*, lat. 26° 32' 25" N., long. 80° 32' E.; 9 miles N.E. of Cawnpur, on Lucknow road. Havelock beat the rebels here, July 29, 1857.

so suddenly devolved upon him with courage, calmness, and cool sagacity, and the measures on which he promptly resolved he carried out with unfailing energy. From the outset he accepted the view taken by the most competent authorities, that the recovery of Delhi was essential, and must be preliminary to the suppression of the revolt. It was urged upon him by the two illustrious Lawrences, Sir Henry and Sir John, and he fully acquiesced that, so long as the great imperial and historic city remained in the hands of the rebel sepoys, the insurrection would be provided with a rallying-point on which all the turbid currents of disaffection and disorder possible among an immense population would incessantly converge, and that the authority of the representation of the Mughal emperors, however unreal and unsubstantial, would serve to impart a national character to what might otherwise remain the outbreak of a particular class. The vital powers of the rebellion would, in fact, be crushed by the recapture of Delhi.

Such was not the opinion of the commander-in-chief, General Anson, who, looking at the inadequacy of the military means at his disposal, pleaded for more time. "Our small European force," he wrote, "is in my opinion insufficient for the purpose. The walls could of course be battered down with heavy guns; the entrance might be opened, and little resistance offered. But so few men in a great city, with such narrow streets, and an immense armed population who know every turn and corner of them, would, it appears to me, be in a very dangerous position, and if six or seven hundred were disabled, what would remain? . . . My own view of the state of things now is that by carefully collecting our resources, having got rid of the bad materials which we cannot trust, and having supplied their places with others of a better sort, it would not be very long before we could proceed without a chance of failure in whatever direction we might please." But the political exigency overruled all such considerations, and Lord Canning insisted that immediate action must be taken. General Anson thereupon addressed himself to the task with vigour, and began to send to the front all the troops he could collect, while Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, with the audacity

of genius, denuded his province of British regiments, replacing them with Sikh levies, who were drilled and disciplined with extraordinary activity.¹ Anson with his rear-guard started from Ambala on the 25th of May, but next day he was suddenly seized with cholera, and on the 27th he expired. The command of the Delhi expedition then devolved upon Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, commanding the Sirhind division, who continued the advance with great promptitude, leaving orders for a siege-train to follow. At Alipur he was joined by a brigade from Meerut under Colonel Archdale Wilson, who on the way had fought two successful actions with the rebels, and on the 8th, being joined by the battering-guns, he marched to Badali-ku-Sarai, about five miles from Delhi, where the enemy had entrenched themselves to oppose his further progress. Sir Henry, forming his army in three columns, advanced in order of battle. After a brisk cannonade the infantry charged the rebel batteries, capturing the guns and bayoneting the gunners. A vigorous attack shattered their left wing, and their rear being assailed by our cavalry and horse-artillery, they took to flight, with great loss of cannon, stores, and baggage. Sir Henry followed up his success, and pushing forward in two columns, one along the main trunk road and the other through the cantonments, he drove the rebels from the ridge which overlooks the imperial city, and encamped there before nightfall.

The position, an excellent one strategically, has also its recommendations from a picturesque point of view, for it commands a fine prospect of the Emperor Shah Jehan's city, founded by him in 1631, one side of which rests upon the Jumna, while the others, with their lofty walls of solid stone extending five and a half miles, face towards the enclosing ridge. In a military sense it offered facilities for successful operations. It dominated the great highways from the surrounding country and the neighbouring canals, one of which, the Niyufgarh, furnished a copious supply of good water. On the left it touched the Jumna some three or four miles above

¹ By the beginning of October eighteen new regiments had been completed, together with irregular levies of 7000 foot and 7000 horse, making a total of 34,000 men.

Delhi ; on the right it approached within a thousand yards of the Kabul Gate. On the left and in the centre it was covered with ruined houses, which screened the British lines from the artillery of the rebels. A large building on the extreme right, known as Hindu Rao's house, formed the key of the British position, and was strongly garrisoned, as were also the flagstaff tower, a ruined mosque, and the observatory, three points towards the left situated in the order named. Below the ridge, on the right, lay the Subzi-Memdi, or vegetable market ; nearer at hand rose the mound on which a strong battery was in due time erected.

The wall of Delhi, as we have said, is $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles long ; it measures 24 feet high, and is protected by a glacis and a dry ditch, 28 feet broad and 20 feet deep. It is strengthened with small round towers, and has ten gates, of which the principal are the Kashmir and Mori Gates on the north, the Kabul and Lahore Gates on the east, and the Ajmere and Delhi Gates on the south. The imperial palace (now known as the Fort), situated in the east of the city, afforded great facilities for defence. It was enclosed on three sides by a massive wall of red sandstone, with small round towers, and a gateway on the west and south. Since the Mutiny a considerable portion has been demolished to make room for British barracks.

The rebel host assembled within the city numbered about 30,000 of all arms, who were amply supplied with guns, ammunition, and provisions. Sir Henry Barnard's little army, including the Punjab Guides, who joined on the morning after his arrival, did not exceed 3000, but before the end of the month was increased to 6000. His artillery consisted of 22 field-guns and a very inadequate siege-train, and owing to his numerical weakness he was unable to push his approaches nearer than 1500 yards from the city. The odds before him seemed so formidable that he was induced to withdraw from the city and move eastward to the relief of Agra ; but happily he was overruled, and gathering up his energies, he thenceforward stood bravely to his task. But while he was nominally besieging Delhi he was himself besieged, and day by day his position was attacked by superior numbers. The arduousness

of the labour thrown upon the British soldiers can scarcely be conceived. "They had no proper rest by night," says Mr. Rotton, "the smallness of the force requiring so many for the ordinary pickets, and admitting scarcely of any relief for any length of time together, while those who were in camp often slept under arms, not knowing the moment when their services might be urgently required. At first it was literally nothing but fighting by day and watching and expecting to renew the conflict by night, and in the discharge of both duties you could not fail, from frequent visits to the pickets, to recognise the same hands everlastingly employed in the same work."

On the 12th of June the rebels attacked the British left, but were promptly repulsed. On the 13th and 15th they assaulted, with the same result, Hindu Rao's house. On the 19th they passed the Subzi-Memdi and crept round into our rear, but were met and driven back with heavy slaughter, after some hours of desperate fighting. A reinforcement of nearly 1000 men arrived on the morning of the 23rd, and were in time to assist in defeating the general attack delivered by the sepoys on that day—the centenary of the battle of Plassey—which had long been predicted as the day for the expiry of the British *raj*. The battle lasted the whole day, and tested to the utmost the energy and endurance of the British warriors, who at last boldly assumed the offensive, and, under a storm of shot and shell, carried by the bayonet alone the whole suburb of the Subzi-Memdi—an important advantage.

Reinforcements now came in from the Punjab with a rapidity and a regularity that renewed the spirits of the besiegers, and European battalions were pushed forward from Calcutta. Hosts in themselves, the arrival of Brigadier Neville Chamberlain and Colonel Baird Smith was enthusiastically welcomed, for it was felt that they brought brain and heart to animate and strengthen the infirm purpose of the general. But at this juncture the general was removed from his post by an attack of cholera; after only a few hours' illness he succumbed on the 5th of July. The command then fell to General Reid, whose ill-health compelled his resignation in a fortnight, and it was assumed on the 17th by Brigadier Archdale Wilson, an ex-

perienced officer, whose courage was unimpeachable, but to whom Nature had not given the qualities essential for the successful discharge of novel and arduous responsibilities.

Incessant were the attacks of the rebels, though the little army on the ridge never yielded an inch of ground nor displayed any despondency of temper. "I never saw," said a veteran, "British soldiers in camp so joyous. They walk and run about in the afternoon and evening, when the rain and Pandys are at rest, as though they had nothing serious to do. Nor has it ever occurred to them that there was anything doubtful in the contest." On the 16th of July the mutineers from Jhansi, red with the blood of their innocent victims, joined their comrades at Delhi, and on the following day led a fresh attack on the British, which met with the fate of former attacks. Secret overtures were made by the king; for recognition of his royal rank and a pension he offered to open the gate of the Selimghur fort and admit the British troops into the palace. The terms were rejected; and indeed the king was in no position to have fulfilled his promised part in them. On the 14th of August the arrival of Brigadier Nicholson, who, though only thirty-seven, had already attained "the highest rank alike as an administrator and a soldier"—a man born with a genius for successful war—with a reinforcement of 4200 splendid fighting men, raised the spirits of the besiegers to the highest pitch. The force before Delhi was thus increased to a total of nearly 8000 effectives; but the siege could not be actively undertaken until a heavier train, which had been ordered from Ferozpur and Phillur, made its appearance. To clear the road by which it was approaching, Captain Hodson was sent in the direction of Rotah, where he scattered a rebel detachment and occupied the town; while Brigadier Nicholson marched against a large body numbering 6000 with 16 guns, under Mahomed Buhi Khan, which had left Delhi for the purpose of interrupting the convoy on the 24th. Nicholson on the following morning started in pursuit, advancing in heavy rain and along swampy roads upon Najafgarh. Finding the enemy posted with a couple of villages and a serai in their front, he threw his European battalions against the serai, while his Sikh regiments

attacked the villages. "The resistance was resolute, the conflict desperate. The heroism which was displayed by our people was emulated by the enemy. The sepoy fought well and sold their lives dearly. There was a sanguinary hand-to-hand encounter. Many of the gunners and the drivers were bayoneted or cut down in the battery, and those who escaped limbered up and made in hot haste for the bridge crossing the Najafgarh Canal. But the attacking party pressed closely upon them. The swampy state of the ground was fatal to the retreat. The leading gun stuck fast in the morass and impeded the advance of those in the rear. Then our pursuing force fell upon them, and before they had made good their retreat captured 13 guns and killed 800 of their fighting men."

On the 3rd of September, while the rebels were still smarting under this retreat, the siege-train arrived, and the erection of heavy batteries within breaching range was at once begun. Major Baird Smith, who acted as chief engineer, urged upon his irresolute commander, who did not lack courage, but shrunk from responsibility, the necessity of immediate action, and, having gained his assent, given grudgingly and guardedly, traced out a plan of assault.

"It was inevitable," says Colonel Malleeson, "that the attack should be made on the northern face of the fortress—the face represented by the Mori, Cashmir, and Water bastions, and the curtain walls connecting them. These connecting curtains were merely parapets, wide enough only for musketry-fire. It had been in the power of the enemy greatly to strengthen these defences by pulling down the adjacent buildings and on their ruins erecting a rampart from which a continued fire of heavy guns should be concentrated on an attacking force. In neglecting, as a rule, to use the advantage thus open to them, the rebel leaders added another example to many preceding it of the absence from their councils of a really capable commander. The neglect was likely to be fatal to the defence, for it enabled the besiegers to concentrate on the curtains a fire sufficient to crush the defenders' fire and to effect breaches through which the infantry could be launched against the town. The plan of the chief engineer, then, was to crush the fire of the Mori

bastion at the north-west corner of the city. That fire silenced, the advance on the extreme left, which was covered by the river, would be secure, and then the assault would be delivered. The simple wisdom of this plan will at once be recognised. In the first place, the advance was effectually covered by the river on our flank, and partially so by trees and brushwood in front. The assault delivered, our men would not be at once involved in narrow streets, but there would be a space comparatively open in which to act."

Reinforcements had brought up the effective rank and file of all arms to 8748 men, of whom 3317 were Europeans. In line with, and acting with them, were 2200 native levies from Kashmir and some hundreds from Jhind.

On September the 8th the heavy batteries got into action, and the effect of their fire was soon perceptible. Preparations were made for an assault, and on the 13th the breaches were declared practicable. Baird Smith then advised General Wilson to deliver the attack at daybreak on the following morning, and he agreed. There were to be four columns and a reserve; the first, 1000 strong, under Brigadier Nicholson, charged to storm the breach near the Kashmir bastion, and escalate the face of the bastion; the second, 850 strong, under Brigadier William Jones, C.B., to storm the breach in the Water bastion; the third, 950 strong, under Colonel Campbell, to assault by the Kashmir Gate, after it had been blown open; the fourth, 860 strong, with 1200 men of the Kashmir contingent, under Major Reid, to attack the Kishanganj suburb, and push forward to the Kabul Gate; and a reserve column, 1500 strong, under Brigadier Longfield, to support the first column.

"It was three o'clock in the morning. The columns of assault were in the leash. In a few moments they would be slipped. What would be the result? Would the skill and daring of the soldiers of England triumph against superior numbers defending and defended by stone walls; or would rebellion, triumphing over the assailants, turn that triumph to a still greater account by inciting by its success to its aid the Punjab and the other parts of India still quivering in the balance? That indeed was the question. The fate of Delhi was in itself the

smallest of the results to be gained by a successful assault. The fate of India was in the balance. The repulse of the British would entail the rising of the Punjab!" It is perhaps not so very wonderful after all, that, when such tremendous issues were at stake, General Wilson should have felt some hesitation and wavered from sheer anxiety. Only a great captain could challenge them with the confidence of genius and in the assurance of victory.

The general design of the assault we may indicate in a few words. The four columns, guided by European officers, were to cross the ditch at different points by the aid of scaling-ladders, clear the outer defences of the city, seize upon all bastions, guns, and gateways, and establish defensible posts. Thereafter, their commanding officers, under Nicholson's general direction, would determine whether circumstances rendered it feasible and desirable to clear the streets of the city in their front and vicinity, or to wait until artillery came up to their assistance. The roads to the palace and Selimgarh having been rendered practicable, a vigorous bombardment was to be directed against them as speedily as possible, every available mortar being conveyed into the city and placed in the magazine or other suitable positions. The belief was that all this might be accomplished and the king's person secured within three or four days from the first delivery of the assault.

The Storming of the City, September 14, 1857.

The British batteries suddenly ceased their fire; the shrill bugles rang out the advance, as Nicholson gave the signal; and with a stern grave cheer the fighting men dashed forward, calmly facing the volleys of shot and shell hurled upon them by the rebel guns. On the edge of the glacis they were exposed to so murderous a hail that for ten minutes it was impossible to lower the ladders into the ditch. Man after man was struck down, and the enemy, with yells and curses, kept up a terrific fire, even catching up stones from the breach in their fury, and, dashing them down, dared the assailants to come on. And "come on" they did! Having crossed the ditch and climbed the scarp, Nicholson was the first to mount

the wall. Then with swift and determined movement his followers gained the ramparts, stormed the breach, drove back the yelling rebels with levelled bayonets, and took up their position in the main-guard below.

Meanwhile the second column steadily fared towards the breach in the Water bastion. By some mistake the supporting party of the stormers struck to the right of the party, and, rushing to the counterscarp of the curtain, slid into its ditch, climbed its breach, and won the rampart. The stormers of the 8th (three officers and seventy-five rank and file), however, most of them carrying ladders, followed the engineers to the Water bastion. "They had to make a slight detour to the right to avoid some water in the ditch, and, being in the open, they were exposed to the full fury of the enemy's fire, which at this point was incessant and well-directed. The two engineer officers fell severely wounded, and of the thirty-nine ladder-men twenty-nine were struck down in a few minutes. But British valour was not to be daunted. The ladders were at length placed, and the breach was carried by the survivors, twenty-five in number, the senior of whom was a colour-sergeant." Springing across the open space, the column inclined to the right until it came in touch with Nicholson's ranks, swept clear the Mori bastion of its defenders, and pushed forward to the Kabul Gate, from the summit of which the British flag was speedily hoisted. Then the air rang with the regimental bugle-calls; the different corps fell into their places, and grimy battle-stained warriors shook hands and congratulated one another that they had been through the furnace and yet lived.

The third column, preceded by the explosion party, advanced with a brisk step towards the Kashmir Gate. The party charged to blow in the gate with powder-bags, each holding 25 lbs., consisted of Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, Sergeants Carmichael, Burgess, and Smith. Undeterred by the enemy's fire, they pushed on through a barrier gate, which was luckily open, and crossed the ditch to the foot of the great double gate. The audacity of the proceeding completely paralysed the enemy; they closed the wicket "with every appearance of alarm," and Home, after laying his bag, had time to jump into the ditch

unhurt. Then, perceiving the danger, the sepoy from either side of the gateway opened a deadly fire, and Carmichael, as he advanced with his bag on his shoulder, was shot dead. Smith, leaping forward, placed the poor fellow's bag in position, laid his own, and got ready the fusee for lighting. With a slow match in his hand stood Salkeld ready, but as he was igniting it he too was shot down with a bullet in arm and leg. He held out the match to Smith, when Burgess, who was close at hand, caught it and attempted to light it. He failed, and Smith was passing to him a box of lucifer-matches when Burgess fell dead. Smith then struck a light and was on the point of applying it, but a port-fire, which had been flung aside as worthless, suddenly exploded in his face. Under cover of the smoke and dust, he sprang into the ditch, just as a tremendous explosion brought down the gate, and the men of the third column rushed forward over the ruins to deal death and wounds among their enemies.¹ Having carried the gate, they pushed forward, supported by the reserve, into the city, and gained a position near St. James's Church.

It was intended that the fourth column, under Major Reid, should proceed against the suburbs of Kishanganj and Paharipur, clear them of the enemy, and effect an entrance at the Kabul Gate after it had been taken by General Nicholson. The successful advance of the other columns depended, in a large degree, on the result of this flank attack. Unfortunately, as Reid, from the parapet of the canal bridge, was directing the attack on the Kishanganj batteries, a musket-shot in the head struck him to the ground. In the confusion that ensued his soldiers lost heart, gave way before the pressure of the enemy, and might have been involved in terrible disaster had not Hope Grant, with a brilliant cavalry charge, covered their retreat.

We have left the first and second columns established within

¹ Of the exploding party, two, as we have seen, were killed; the survivors, Home, Salkeld, Smith, and bugler Hawthorne were recommended by General Wilson for the Victoria Cross, but Salkeld died soon afterwards of his wounds, Lieutenant Home was killed in action at Malagarh, and only Smith and Hawthorne lived to receive and wear the proud distinction they had so gallantly won.

the city, the second at the Kabul Gate, the first pushing forwards along the wall towards the Lahore Gate, the gate which leads to the principal street of Delhi, the Chandni Chauk. The flank attack of the fourth column having failed, Nicholson's officers would fain have had him establish his men in the houses dominating the position, and await intelligence, before proceeding farther through narrow streets, on which was concentrated a terrific fire. Nicholson, however, thought nothing done until everything was done, and gave the word to advance. The lane before them was nowhere more than ten feet, in some places only three feet wide, and it was swept by grape and musketry, by volleys of stones and round shot. Into this hell of smoke and flame and bullets our men dashed gallantly, but there was no shelter for them, and they were forced to retire. With wonderful ardour, they reformed and again advanced; again found the task too hard, and reluctantly fell back. Then Nicholson galloped to the front. Drawing his tall figure to its full height, he waved his sword above his head and called on his men to follow him. Before a sufficient number of men could rally to his call, he was struck down by a shot through the body. The wound was mortal, and he knew it to be so. But his spirit was unconquerable, and he still called upon the men to go on. Without artillery, however, the position could not be carried, and there was no alternative but to retire upon the Kabul Gate, while the wounded hero was tenderly conveyed to the hospital on the ridge, where his splendid career terminated on the 23rd.

As night drew on, the British columns settled down into the positions they had won at terrible cost.¹ The entire space inside the city from the Water bastion to the Kabul Gate was held by the first, second, and reserve columns. The fourth, baffled in its attempt on Kishanganj, held the batteries behind Hindu Rao's house; and the third occupied St. James's Church and the houses at the end of the two streets that led thence into the interior of the city.

¹ The loss of the British in the day's fighting was 273 killed and 872 wounded. Of the assaulting force about two men in every nine were killed or wounded.

To General Wilson, when with his staff he rode down into the city, the great sacrifice at which so small a portion of it had been acquired, and the conviction that the city had yet to be taken, suggested the despondent thought that the columns must be withdrawn to the ridge. From this fatal step he was saved by the "splendid obstinacy" of Baird Smith and the chivalrous ardour of Neville Chamberlain. The latter, who had been severely wounded a few days before, sent a written request to his general that he would hold the ground won by the assaulting columns. The doubting general turned to Baird Smith: "Was it possible?" "We must do so," was the uncompromising answer, and General Wilson at once assented.

Next day, the 15th, was occupied in restoring order, checking pillage, destroying the stores of intoxicating liquors, which might otherwise have proved a fatal temptation to our men, and in erecting and making use of mortar-batteries to shell the city, the palace, and the Selimgarh. During the night the sepoys, who had evidently lost heart, evacuated the Kishanganj suburb. On the 16th the magazine was carried, with a loss of only three men wounded. Further advances were made on the 17th and 18th, the enemy's resistance growing perceptibly weaker; and on the 19th, after a temporary repulse, Brigadier Jones captured the Lahore Gate. The Sama Masjid, or Great Mosque (erected by Shah Jahan), was taken on the same day; and the conquest of Delhi was completed by the occupation of the Selimgarh and the imperial palace, which the rebels hastily evacuated.

The treachery of one of his nobles threw the old King of Delhi into the hands of Hodson of Hodson's Horse, a partisan leader of dauntless courage but unscrupulous temper, possessed of a fierce love of battle, of bloodshed, and of plunder. Having ascertained that the King and the royal family were lying concealed at the Tomb of Humayun, a noble structure of granite and marble about two miles from the city, he obtained the general's permission to bring them in, on condition that the King sustained neither insult nor injury. Accompanied by fifty of his troopers, he rode to the spot, when the white-haired feeble old man, who represented the dynasty of the great

Mughals, surrendered to this soldier of fortune, and, with his wife and son, was conveyed back to Delhi and handed over to the civil authority. Tried by a military commission, he was found guilty of encouraging acts of rebellion and murder, and was sentenced to perpetual banishment. He died at Rangoon on October 7, 1862.

Hodson had privately been informed that two of the King's sons and a grandson—men reported to have been concerned in the May massacre—were also hidden in the Tomb of Humayun. The following morning he rode thither again, attended by one hundred troopers, and speedily unearthed the Shahzadahs, who offered no resistance, but begged that their lives might be spared. Hodson sternly refused to make any conditions, and at length they came out from their retreat in a bullock-cart, and went on towards Delhi, escorted by Hodson's famous horsemen, and followed by a crowd of natives, whom he had previously taken the precaution to disarm. They were too cowed to act, even if they had been able. "Hodson would have rejoiced," says the historian, "had they displayed the smallest intention to resist. He wanted blood. His senses were blinded by his brutal instincts. He had completed five-sixths of his journey from the place of capture to Delhi without the display of the smallest hostility on the part of the crowd. Despairing, then, of any other mode of gratifying his longings, he made the pressure of the mob upon his horsemen a pretext for riding up to the cart, stopping it, and ordering the princes to dismount and strip to their under garments. Then addressing the troopers, he told them in a loud voice, so as to be heard by the multitude, that the prisoners were butchers who had murdered our women and our children, and that it was the will of the Government that they should die. Then, taking a carbine from the hands of a trooper, he shot dead his three unresisting captives!" The act was one without necessity, and therefore without excuse. The Shahzadahs were prisoners of war—state prisoners—and entitled to a fair trial before a legitimate authority. In putting them to death, and constituting himself both judge and executioner, Hodson was guilty of an outrage on morality, on humanity, and on justice.

The fall of Delhi set free the besieging army for other work ; and after providing for the safety of the city, General Wilson dispatched a strong column under Greathed (afterwards succeeded in the command by Hope Grant), which did good service in various directions. As for Delhi, it was placed for some time under military government ; and it became necessary, owing to the frequent murders of European soldiers, to expel for a while the native population. The Hindu inhabitants were soon readmitted, but the Muhammadans were excluded until the city was restored to the civil authorities, on the 11th of January 1858. The work of re-establishing law and order then went on with rapidity, and Delhi is now peaceful and prosperous, an important commercial depot and railway centre. On account of its historical associations, it was selected as the scene of the imperial proclamation on New Year's Day, 1877.

2. *The Story of Cawnpur and Lucknow.*

In 1857 the officer in command at Cawnpur¹ was Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B., a veteran of seventy-five, who, having served with native regiments for many years, had acquired a strong belief in the virtues of the sepoy, and spoke his language almost as well as the sepoy did himself. Yet even his partial eyes could not be blind to the symptoms of disaffection which appeared among the native soldiery at Cawnpur, and on the 20th of May he saw good reason to telegraph to Lucknow for an immediate reinforcement of European troops. Close at hand, in the picturesque little town of Bithur, on the Ganges, dwelt in exile the adopted son of the last of the Peshwas, Dundhu Panth, better known as Nana Sahib, who was supposed to be full of loyalty towards the Government, though he cherished a great grievance and a bitter memory of wrong done to him, as he conceived, in not being permitted to assume the titles of his adoptive father. By an almost inconceivable act of folly, Sir Hugh Wheeler

¹ *Cawnpur*, lat. 26° 28' 15" N., long. 80° 23' 45" E.; on the river Ganges; 130 miles from Allahabad, 266 miles from Delhi, 628 miles from Calcutta; population, 151,444.

applied to this man for assistance. He furnished it in the shape of 300 men and a couple of guns, and the treasury was thereupon placed in his charge. Some of the Europeans at Cawnpur were not satisfied, however, with the excessive confidence placed in the Nana, and at their suggestion the general began to construct some defensive works. A mud wall four feet high was thrown up around the barracks, and armed with ten guns. "What do you call that place you are making in the plain?" Azimulah, the Nana's confidential agent, inquired of an English officer. "I am sure I don't know," was the reply. "It should be called," said Azimulah, "the Fort of Despair." "No," answered the Englishman, "we will call it the Fort of Victory." Within this hasty entrenchment all Europeans were collected.

On the 6th of June the storm broke. The 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry rose in revolt, seized the treasury, liberated the criminals in the public jail, and set fire to the public offices. They then marched out one stage on the road to Delhi, and were joined, after some hesitation, by the 53rd and 54th native regiments. The Nana, throwing off all disguise, immediately went out to their camp, and by bribes and promises induced them to return. They saluted him as their raja, and assuming the command, he proceeded to invest the British position.

The exact number of souls imprisoned within the two small buildings, each of only one storey, known as the barracks, has not been recorded, but it must have approached 1000; for there were 465 men and 280 women, and probably there would be some 200 children. All who could bear arms, about 400, were quickly mustered and told off in companies under their respective officers, sentries were posted, and arms and ammunition distributed. But as the force opposed to them consisted of three battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and a strong detachment of artillery, the prospect of a successful defence was sadly uncertain, and the best hope of the little garrison lay in the speedy arrival of succours. They behaved, however, with a fortitude and a heroic courage which the historian will always commemorate with admiration. Under an almost vertical sun, with the thermometer often as high as 120°, and

never below 100°, ill supplied with provisions, their hands blistered with the heated gun-barrels, their eyes aching with the dust, and smoke, and glare, weary with constant watching, and exposed to a heavy cannonade and incessant musketry fire, they fought on pertinaciously, and gallantly, though at great loss of life, repulsed three attacks by the enemy. The story of their sufferings is one of the most pathetic and beautiful things in the annals of our race—they were borne with so much calm endurance and in so unflinching a temper. The preponderant numbers that raged and raved around this weak defence never disturbed for a moment the equanimity of one of that band of heroes. He could be shaken only by the fear of what might and would happen to his wife and children if eventually his noble resistance should be overcome. The women were worthy of this anxiety. No heroine of romance or poetry, no Cornelia or Portia of the brave old Roman days, ever manifested a truer courage or more admirable patience. Not a few endured the pangs of childbirth while shot and shell stormed fatally around them. Some saw their children waste slowly at their breasts, others had them torn from their arms by the deadly bullets. Those who were not prostrated by fatigue or illness, or engaged as nurses and attendants, helped the soldiers in their arduous labours. All were animated by an equal spirit of self-sacrifice and chivalrous devotion.

By the 26th of June, no reinforcements having arrived, the besieged felt that their position had become untenable, and accepted the overtures for capitulation tendered by the Nana Sahib. The terms finally agreed upon, and solemnly offered by the Nana, were, that the British should surrender their fortified position, guns, and treasure; that they should march out with their arms and sixty rounds of ammunition for each man, and that the Nana should escort them safely to the river-side and supply boats to carry them down the Ganges to Allahabad. They evacuated their entrenchments on the morning of the 27th, and in a long procession went down to the Sati-chaura ghat or landing-place, and embarked in the boats. Immediately a murderous fire of musket-balls and grape-shot was opened upon them from all sides, to which men, women, and

children fell victims by scores. Two only of the boats got under weigh, and one of these was swamped at once by a round-shot; the other went down the river under a pitiless fire from the banks, and most of the Europeans were killed. A few escaped for a while to Shirajpur, where some were captured, and the remainder massacred, except four. The soldiers in the boats at the ghat were mostly killed; the women and children, 125 in all, were carried back to Cawnpur, and confined in two rooms in the Savada Kothi. Other prisoners, mostly from Fatehgarh, increased the number to 200 (including five men).

"In the boat where I was to have gone," said a half-caste Christian woman or Eurasian who escaped, "was the school-mistress and twenty-two missies. General Wheeler came last in a palki. They carried him into the water near the boat. I stood close by. He said, 'Carry me a little farther towards the boat.' But a trooper said, 'No, get out here.' As the general got out of the palki, head foremost, the trooper gave him a cut with his sword into the neck, and he fell into the water. My son was killed near him. I saw it, alas! alas! Some were stabbed with bayonets, others cut down. Little infants were torn in pieces. We saw it, we did, and tell you only what we saw. Other children were stabbed and thrown into the river. The school-girls were burnt to death. I saw their clothes and hair catch fire. In the water, a few paces off, by the next boat, we saw the youngest daughter of Colonel Williams. A sepoy was going to kill her with his bayonet. She said, 'My father was always kind to sepoys.' He turned away, and just then a villager struck her on the head with his club, and she fell into the water."

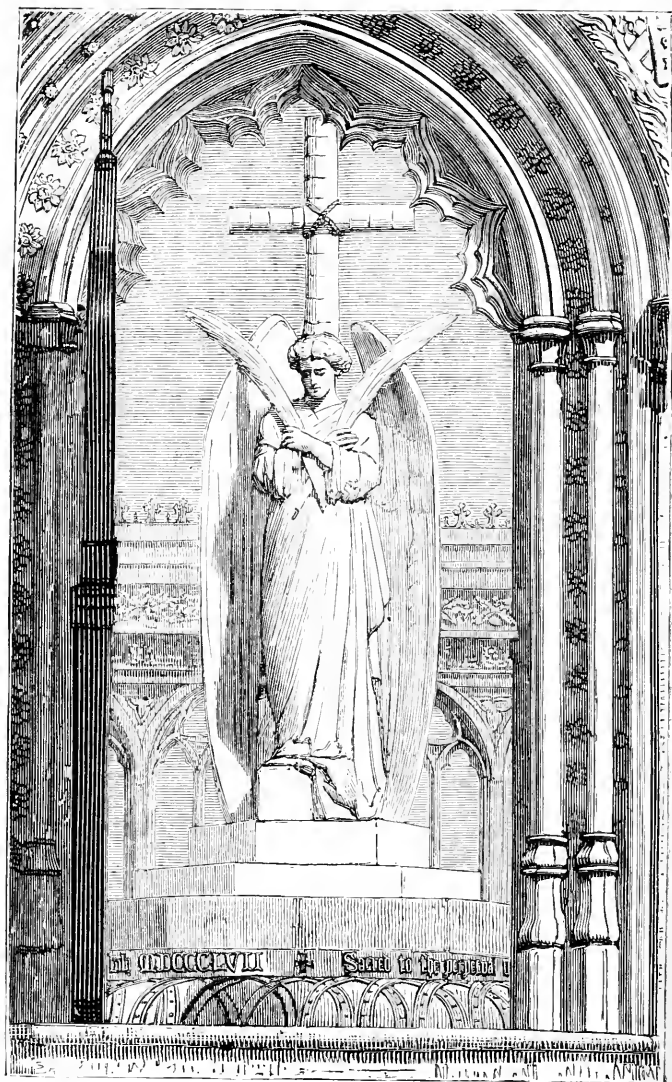
Campaign of General Havelock.

The relief of Cawnpur was one of the earliest objects to which Lord Canning's attention was directed, and early in July a column under Brigadier Havelock was sent northwards from Allahabad. The column consisted of 1000 British soldiers, 130 Sikhs, and 18 volunteer cavalry, with 6 guns, but was strengthened on the 11th by its junction with Major Renaud's

detachment, which had preceded it. Next day Havelock attacked the Nana's army, which attempted to dispute his progress, at Fatehpur. Such was the fire and fury of the British charge, that the enemy gave way in ten minutes. "It was scarcely a battle, but it was a consummate victory. Our Enfield rifles and our guns would not permit a conflict. The service of the artillery was superb. There had come upon the scene a new warrior, of whom India had before known nothing, but whose name from that day became terrible to our enemies. The improvised battery of which Havelock made such splendid use was commanded by Captain Maude of the Royal Artillery. He had come round from Ceylon with a few gunners, but without guns, and he had gone at once to the front as one of the first artillerymen in the world. The best troops of the Nana Sahib, with a strength of artillery exceeding our own, could make no stand against such a fire as was opened upon them."

Fatehpur, having been deeply involved in the rebellion, was given up to plunder. Havelock then resumed his advance, and on the 15th was again challenged by the enemy at Aung, and at the passage of the Pandu Nadi, in vain. On the 16th he marched victoriously into Cawnpur, and on the following day occupied the British cantonment. Unhappily he was too late to save, and the work he had to do was one of retribution. For at the first sound of his guns outside Cawnpur the Nana and his confederates resolved on the massacre of their prisoners. The five men were dragged forth and killed before the Nana's eyes. Then a party of sepoys was told off to shoot the women and children through the doors and windows of the prison-house. Strange to say, they revolted from the hideous task; and so a couple of Hindu peasants, a Musulman in the Maharaja's bodyguard, and a couple of Muhammadan butchers, armed with swords or sharp long knives, were sent into the fatal chamber to hack and cut and stab until all were dead or dying. The horrible butchery was over by nightfall, the screams ceased, but the groans lasted until morning. When the sun had been up for three hours, the murderers, accompanied by a few sweepers, hastened to remove the bodies to a dry well situated behind a clump of trees. "They were





MEMORIAL OVER THE WELL, CAWNPUR.—P. 499.

dragged out," said a native eye-witness, "most of them by the hair of the head. Those who had clothes worth taking were stripped. Some of the women were alive. I cannot say how many, but three could speak. They prayed for the sake of God that an end might be put to their sufferings. I remarked one very stout woman, a half-caste, who was severely wounded in both arms, who entreated to be killed. She and two or three others were placed against the bank of the cut by which bullocks go down in drawing water. The dead were first thrown in. Yes, there was a great crowd looking on; they were standing along the walls of the compound. They were principally city people and villagers. Yes, there were also sepoys. Three boys were alive. They were fair children. The oldest, I think, must have been six or seven, and the youngest five years. They were running round the well (where else could they go to?), and there was none to save them. No; none said a word or tried to save them."

Who can wonder that this atrocious cruelty stimulated in the heart of the British soldier a fierce desire for revenge, and inspired him with stern determination on many a battlefield?¹

When the Mutiny was finally suppressed, the scene of the massacre was laid out as a memorial garden, and an ornamental building erected over the fatal well. The surrounding wall is pierced with rows of lancet windows having trefoil mullions. The entrance is through handsome bronze doors, and in the centre stands an angel in white marble (by Marochetti), with arms crossed, and in each hand holding a palm branch. Round the parapet of the well runs the following inscription:—"Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children, who near this spot were cruelly murdered by the followers of the rebel Nana Dhundu Panth of Bithur, and cast, the dying with the dead, into the well below, on the xvth day of July MDCCCLVII." To the south and south-west lie two graveyards with monuments to those who were massacred or died at Cawnpur in the year of evil 1857.

¹ The author of the tragedy escaped the avenger's hand. From Cawnpur he fled to Bithur, and thence escaped across the Nipalese marshes to perish of hunger among the deserts and solitudes of the Himalayas.

On the 20th of July, Brigadier Neill arrived with a reinforcement of 400 Europeans; and order having been restored at Cawnpur, Havelock prepared to advance, in fulfilment of his instructions, to the relief of Lucknow. Having raised an entrenched camp on an elevated plateau near the river-bank, and placed a garrison in it under Neill, he crossed the Ganges with 1500 men, and advanced into Oudh, where he had to contend with a hostile population as well as the hostile soldiery. His march, therefore, became a series of desperate battles. On the 29th he defeated a largely superior force at Unao, and on the same day gained a victory at Bashiratganj. But sickness and the inevitable losses in battle had so weakened his small force, that he felt compelled to fall back on Mangalwar (July 31), and wait for reinforcements. This retirement provoked a strong remonstrance from the impetuous Neill, though military critics are agreed that in the circumstances it was not only justifiable but imperative. On the 4th of August, having about 1400 effective men at his command, with several guns, he started a second time on the Lucknow road, encountered the enemy again at Bashiratganj, turned their left flank and put them to flight. But cholera broke out in his ranks and ammunition ran short. Again a retreat became unavoidable, and again he fell back on Mangalwar, where he rested and recruited his men for four days. On the 11th he proposed to recross into Cawnpur, but learning that the enemy had massed troops at Bashiratganj to disturb his passage of the river, he resolved to clear his road of them, and advancing a third time into Oudh, attacked the sepoys early on the 12th, with the usual result. He was thus enabled to cross the Ganges in safety, and place his troops in camp at Cawnpur. He gave them two days' rest, and on the 11th marched against Bithur, where a rebel force of 4000 men was strongly posted, and beat them thoroughly, capturing their two guns.

Havelock remained at Cawnpur until the middle of September. Reinforcements had by this time poured freely into the camp, and with them came Major-General Sir James Outram, who had been appointed to the command-in-chief, and Chief Commissioner of Oudh. "Sir James Outram bore the

highest character. He was a paladin of the days of chivalry and romance. To a fearlessness which never recognised danger, to a nerve that never trembled, to a coolness that never varied, he added a generosity without stint, a forgetfulness of self rarely paralleled, a love of the soul's nobility for its own sake alone. Not idly had he been called the Bayard of the Indian army." Recognising the brilliant services rendered by Havelock, he refused to take up the command until that general had finished the work so well begun, and carried his army into the capital of Oudh. He made known this determination to the soldiers by a formal order, and by another order Havelock acknowledged in suitable terms Sir James's kindness and generosity.

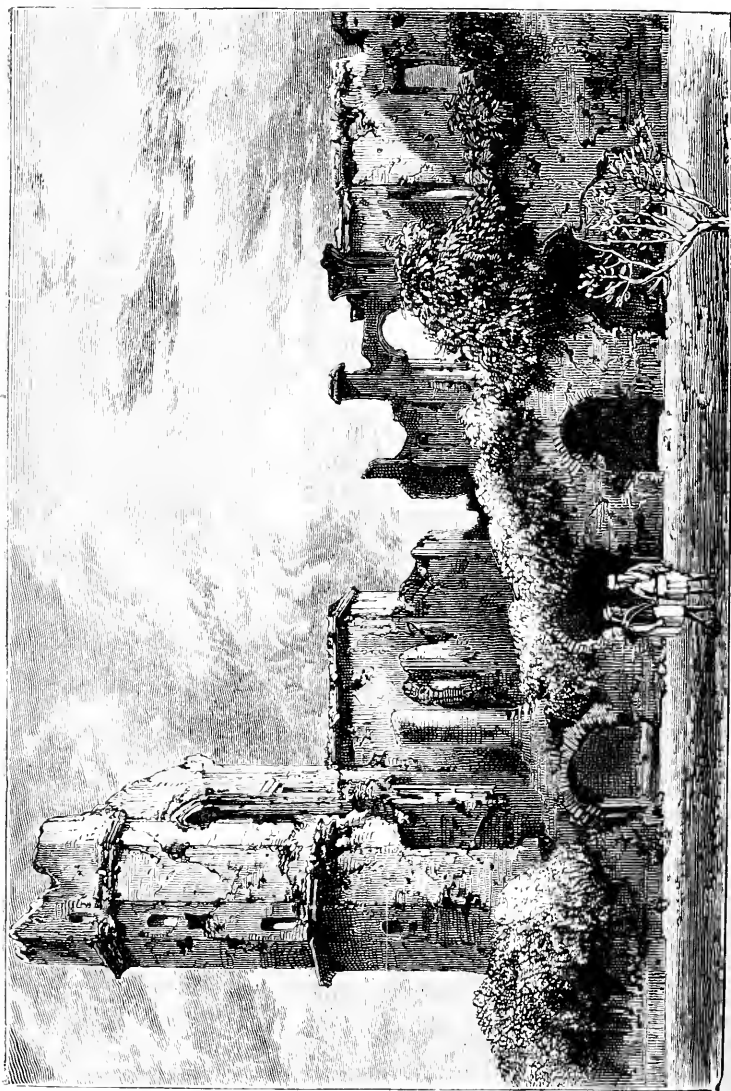
With a force of 3179 men of all arms (of whom 2719 were Europeans), in three brigades, commanded by Brigadier Neill, Brigadier Hamilton, and Major Cooper respectively, together with 59 of the 12th irregulars, and 109 volunteers (of whom Sir James Outram was one), Havelock crossed the Ganges on the 19th of September, and driving the enemy before him at Mangalwar on the 20th, came in sight of Lucknow on the 23rd. On the same day Neill, after much hard fighting, carried the Alambagh, a walled garden on the Cawnpur road, held by the sepoys in large numbers. On the 25th, dividing his small army into two columns, Havelock fought his way into the city through narrow streets and lanes swept by a withering fire, and on the 26th arrived at the gate of the entrance of the Residency, where he and his warriors were enthusiastically welcomed by its gallant little garrison. The loss of the British in this splendid deed of arms was heavy, and included that fine soldier General Neill. As Malleson eloquently says, the English traveller who visits Lucknow may well pause in wonder and admiration, as "contemplating the narrow streets and lofty houses of the city, the size of the palaces, the extent of the walled enclosures surrounding them, he calls to mind that they were a handful of his countrymen who forced their way through those narrow streets, the houses filled with armed enemies, who beat down the opposition offered to them by the foe in those walled enclosures, to rush to the succour of

other men, also countrymen, who, beleaguered in a weak position—a position, in a military sense, not defensible—had repulsed, during eighty-seven days, the incessant attacks of countless foes. Contemplating in turn the city and the enclosure, he will be unable to resist the conviction that the relievers and the relieved were in very deed worthy each of the other.”

*At Lucknow,*¹ 1857-58.

Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed Chief Commissioner of Oudh on the 20th of March 1857. The Lucknow garrison at that time consisted of the 32nd (British) regiment, a weak company of British artillery, the 7th native light cavalry, and the 13th, 48th, and 71st native infantry, while in or near the city were also quartered two regiments of irregular local infantry, together with a regiment of military police, one of Oudh irregular cavalry, and two batteries of native artillery. Thus the town contained no fewer than 7000 native soldiers to 750 British, or in the ratio of $9\frac{1}{5}$ to 1. Sir Henry's keen and experienced eye speedily detected the numerous elements of danger that were working beneath a superficial tranquillity, and at an early date he comprehended the possibility of a popular insurrection. In the month of April the house of the surgeon to the 48th was burned down in revenge for a supposed insult to caste. Sir Henry at once adopted the necessary measures for ensuring the safety of the Europeans, being ably seconded by Mr. Gubbins, the financial commissioner, and Captain Fletcher Hayes. “He got in all the treasure from the city and stations, bought up and stored grain and supplies of every kind, bought up all the supplies of the European shopkeepers; got the mortars and guns to the Residency, got in the powder and small ammunition, all the shot and shell, and the heavy guns; had pits dug for the powder and grain, arranged for water-supply, strengthened the Residency, had outworks formed, cleared away all obstructions close up to the

¹ *Lucknow* or *Lakhnao*, lat. $26^{\circ} 51' 40''$ N., long. $80^{\circ} 51' 10''$ E.; on the river Gumti; 42 miles from Cawnpur, 610 miles from Calcutta; chief buildings, the Unambara, the Jamia Musjid, the Chatta Manzil, and the Kaisar Bagh palaces; population, 261,303.



Residency, and made every preparation for the worst; and when the mutineers closed in on the Residency, and the whole population of the city and the province rose against us, they found the little garrison amply supplied with provisions, ammunition, and resources of every kind."

On the 30th of April the men of the 7th Oudh irregulars refused to bite their cartridges, on the ground that they had been greased with cow's fat. With some difficulty they were induced to return to their lines, and on the 3rd of May Sir Henry Lawrence with greater difficulty succeeded in disarming them. Nine days later he held a durbar, at which he addressed the native aristocracy, the native civil officials and officers, and others, in Hindustani, eloquently calling upon them to support the British Government, which afforded toleration and protection to Hindu and Muhammadan alike. The next morning brought the news of the outbreak at Meerut. Lawrence immediately telegraphed to Lord Canning asking him to confer upon him plenary military authority in the province, as a safeguard against divided councils; on the 19th Lord Canning replied affirmatively. Sir Henry then completed the fortification of the Residency, into which he brought the ladies and children, and fortified the Machi Bhawan, a castellated and picturesque old stronghold about a mile from the Residency and on the same side of the river Gumti, which he converted into a place of arms. On the night of the 30th of May the long-expected revolt broke out. The sepoys of the 71st, with a few from the other regiments, began to burn the bungalows of their officers and to murder the inmates. Sir Henry lost no time. He collected his European soldiers, and at early dawn attacked the mutineers, who were joined by the 7th cavalry, scattered them, and pursued them for ten miles towards Sitapur. At the beginning of June the British had lost all Oudh except the cantonments and the two fortified positions in Lucknow, where, however, the disloyalty of the remaining native troops became daily more offensive. At this juncture Sir Henry Lawrence's health broke down, and he delegated his authority to a council of five presided over by Mr. Gubbins, but by a tremendous effort of will he rallied his

energies, and in a couple of days resumed the duties which no other could discharge so well. On the 11th of June the military police and native cavalry mutinied, and on the following morning the native infantry. The dark tidings of the fall of Cawnpur arrived on the 20th, and on the 29th the rebels of the Oudh irregular force, 7000 strong, advanced upon Chinhat, a village on the Faizabad road, eight miles from the Residency. In the hope of striking a blow which might neutralise the ill effects of the Cawnpur disaster, Sir Henry marched out to give them battle. But he had been misinformed as to their numbers, and took with him only 700 men; and being deserted by his native gunners, he was compelled after a desperate struggle to retreat to Lucknow with a loss of 119 killed and wounded.

He was closely followed by the rebels, who were joined by all the discontented spirits of the town, and gathered in masses round the British position. Sir Henry resolved to concentrate his little garrison in the Residency, and ordered the Machi Bhawan to be evacuated and blown up. The siege of the Residency began on the 1st of July, and to maintain the defence Sir Henry could muster only 927 Europeans and 765 natives. But he bated not one jot of heart or hope, and the same spirit of resolute energy and determination animated every one of the defenders. Yet what was the nature of the position they were called upon to defend? Let the reader imagine a number of houses built for ordinary domestic purposes, originally separated from each other by small plots of ground, but now joined together by mud walls and trenches—the mud walls for defence from outer attack, the trenches for protection against the enemy's shells.

On the second day of the siege, as Sir Henry was resting on his couch in an upper room, one of the enemy's shells burst beside him, shattering his thigh. He felt at once that the wound was mortal, and of Dr. Fayrer, his medical attendant, simply inquired how long he had to live. "About three days," was the answer. Then he prepared for death, partaking of the sacrament, and addressing a few words of counsel or affectionate remembrance to those about him. He insisted also on the imperative necessity of defending the Residency to

the last, and of never capitulating to the enemy. "Let every man," he said, "die at his post, but never make terms. God help the poor women and children!" He told the chaplain that he wished to be buried very privately, "without any fuss," buried in the same grave with any of the garrison who might die about the same time. And in a low voice he repeated the words he intended for his epitaph:—"Here lies Sir Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty. May God have mercy upon him!"

His sufferings were severe, but happily he had intervals of rest, and, notwithstanding his weakness, lingered on till the beginning of the second day after his wound, passing away at last in great tranquillity, about eight in the morning of the 4th of July. He had nobly lived, he died nobly, and left behind him a memory which Englishmen will not cease to reverence so long as honour and patriotism and unselfish devotion to duty are recognised as things precious.

By his death-bed instructions Major Banks succeeded to the chief civil authority, while the command of the troops devolved upon Brigadier Inglis, who, by his courage and conduct, proved himself worthy of the trust. From his admirably written dispatch to the Government of India we take the following condensed account of the prolonged defence, of which he was the guiding spirit, premising that Major Banks was killed on the 21st of July, and that thereafter the supreme authority was solely exercised by Brigadier Inglis:—

As soon as the enemy had completed the investment of the Residency, they occupied the adjoining mosques and houses, some of which were within easy pistol-shot of our barricades, in immense force, and rapidly made loopholes on those sides which bore on our posts, from which they kept up a terrific and incessant fire day and night, which caused many daily casualties, as there could not have been less than 8000 men firing at one time into our position. Moreover, there was no place in the whole of our works that could be considered safe, for several of the sick and wounded who were lying in the banqueting-hall, which had been turned into an hospital, were killed in the very centre of the building, and the widow

of Lieutenant Dorin and other women and children were shot dead in rooms into which it had not been previously deemed possible that a bullet could penetrate. Neither were the enemy idle in erecting batteries. They soon had from 20 to 25 guns in position, some of them of very large calibre. These were planted all round our post at small distances, some being actually within fifty yards of our defences, but in places where our own heavy guns could not reply, while the perseverance and ingenuity with which the enemy erected barricades in front of and around their guns quickly reduced all attempts to silence them by musketry useless.

This incessant fire of cannon and musketry was maintained until the 20th of July, on which day, at 10 A.M., they assembled in very great force all around our position, and exploded a heavy mine inside our outer line of defences at the water gate. But it did no harm. As soon as the smoke had cleared away, the rebels boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan (a battery so called), but were greeted with such a crushing fire, that, after a short struggle, they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes's post; these, too, were repulsed with great slaughter. The minor attacks made at almost every outpost were likewise defeated, and at 2 P.M. they ceased their attempts to storm, though their musketry-fire and cannonading continued to harass the defence unceasingly as usual. So matters proceeded until the 10th of August, when the enemy adventured a second assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the brigade-mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house occupied by Mr. Schelling's garrison. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank-fire from the officers and men holding the top of the brigade-mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their number lying on the crest of the breach.

On the 18th of August the enemy sprung another mine in front of the Sikh lines, with very fatal effect. Captain Orr and Lieutenants Mecham and Soppitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air, but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a severe shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No fewer than eleven men were buried alive under the ruins, whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire maintained by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, which was consequently repelled with little difficulty. The enemy succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses in our position, but were driven out in the evening by the bayonets of her Majesty's 32nd and 84th foot.

The last serious assault by the enemy was undertaken on the 5th of September. Having exploded a large mine a few feet short of the bastion of the 28-pounder gun, they advanced with large heavy scaling-ladders, which they planted against the wall, and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily repulsed with severe loss by hand-grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the brigade-mess, and advanced boldly; but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of its garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking old native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success.

It will be seen that the rebels invariably commenced their attacks by the explosion of a mine,—a species of offensive warfare for the exercise of which the British position, unfortunately, was peculiarly situated, and had it not been for the intense vigilance of the besieged in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would

probably have been much more numerous, and might have resulted, perhaps, in the capture of the place. But by countermining in all directions, the garrison succeeded in detecting and destroying no fewer than four of the enemy's subterranean advances towards important positions. Two of these operations, says Brigadier Inglis, were eminently successful, as on one occasion no fewer than eight of the enemy were blown into the air, and twenty suffered a similar fate on the second explosion. In the absence of a body of skilled miners, the labour involved in constructing these counter-mines was very arduous.

Few troops, probably, ever underwent greater hardships than those who held so gallantly the Residency at Lucknow. To say nothing of the continuous musketry-fire and cannonade to which they were exposed, they also experienced the alternate vicissitudes of extreme wet and intense heat, either with no shelter at all, or very insufficient shelter. They had not only to repel real attacks, but day and night were exposed to the hardly less harassing false alarms which the enemy were constantly raising. So that it came to pass that the whole of the officers and men were on duty night and day during the eighty-nine days which the siege lasted, until the arrival of the army of relief under Havelock and Outram. "In addition to this incessant military duty," says Inglis, "the force was nightly employed in repairing defences, in moving guns—in burying dead animals, in conveying ammunition and commissariat stores from one place to another, and in other fatigue duties too numerous and too trivial to enumerate here. I feel, however, that any words of mine will fail to convey any adequate idea of what our fatigue and labours have been—labours in which all ranks and all classes, civilians, officers, and soldiers, have all borne an equally noble part. All have together descended into the mines, all have together handled the shovel for the interment of the putrid bullock, and all, accoutred with musket and bayonet, have relieved each other on sentry, without regard to the distinctions of rank, civil or military. Notwithstanding all these hardships, the garrison has made no fewer than five sorties, in which they spiked two of the enemy's

heaviest guns, and blew up several of the houses from which they had kept up their most harassing fire."

Brigadier Inglis, in his dispatch, points to the roofless and ruined Residency, the crumbled walls, the exploded mines, the open breaches, and the shattered and disabled guns and defences, not to speak of the long and melancholy death-roll, as evidences of the desperate character of the struggle in which he and his comrades were so long engaged. He adds some particulars as to the difficulty of opening communications with the outside world. "We sent out messengers daily, calling for aid and asking for information, none of whom ever returned until the twenty-sixth day of the siege, when a pensioner named Ungud came back with a letter from General Havelock's camp, informing us that they were advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in five or six days. A messenger was immediately dispatched requesting that on the evening of their arrival on the outskirts of the city two rockets might be sent up, in order that we might take the necessary measures for assisting them while forcing their way in. The sixth day expired, however, and they came not, but for many evenings after, officers and men watched for the ascension of the expected rockets with hopes such as make the heart sick." The reader already knows the cause of the delay.

We shall quote but one more passage, in which the general sums up the trials and difficulties of another kind to which the heroes of Lucknow were exposed. Besides heavy visitations of cholera and small-pox, the garrison was afflicted with a universally prevalent malady, which, beginning with a very painful eruption, merged into a low fever combined with diarrhœa. It seldom proved fatal, but left behind a weakness and lassitude, which, in the absence of all material sustenance save some coarse beef and still coarser flour, none of its victims entirely overcame. The mortality among the women and children, and especially among the latter, from those diseases and from other causes was perhaps the most painful characteristic of the siege. The want of native servants was a source of much privation. Several ladies had to tend their children, and even to wash their own clothes as

well as to cook their scanty meals entirely unaided. "I cannot refrain from bringing into prominent notice the patient endurance and the Christian resignation which have been evinced by the women of this garrison. They have animated us by their example. Many, alas ! have been made widows and their children fatherless in this cruel struggle. But all such seem resigned to the will of Providence ; and many, among whom may be mentioned the honoured names of Birch, of Polehampton, of Barbor, and of Gall, have, after the example of Miss Nightingale, constituted themselves the tender and solicitous nurses of the wounded and dying soldiers in the hospital."

On the 26th of September Sir James Outram assumed the command of the British forces in Lucknow, and almost at once discovered that his troops had reinforced, but not relieved the garrison in the beleaguered Residency ; that means of transport were absolutely wanting ; and that even if these had been forthcoming, he was not strong enough to convoy the women and children in safety to Cawnpur. In short, it was only too clear that he would have to continue the defence until the arrival of further reinforcements should enable the garrison to cut its way through the hostile masses. Such being the case, he proceeded to take measures for strengthening his position. Some important outworks were brought within the limits of the defence ; an enlarged area of the town was rapidly fortified ; and additional batteries were erected at commanding points. Throughout October the siege continued, but the increased numbers of the garrison afforded Outram the means of making frequent sorties, in which he inflicted severe punishment upon the rebels. A small detachment which had been left in the Alambagh, and unexpectedly cut off from the main body, succeeded in firmly holding its exposed position. The Alambagh was one of the royal gardens, and formed a square of 500 yards, enclosed by a wall about nine feet high, and entered by a handsome gateway. In the centre stood a garden-house of two storeys, built of stone. The wall on the city side had been strengthened by "a strong ramp of earth," and an inner earthen ramp or traverse had been thrown all round the central

building to protect it from the enemy's fire. It lay on the right of the highroad from Cawnpur, at a distance of about two miles from the outskirts of the city.

Sir Colin Campbell's March to Lucknow.

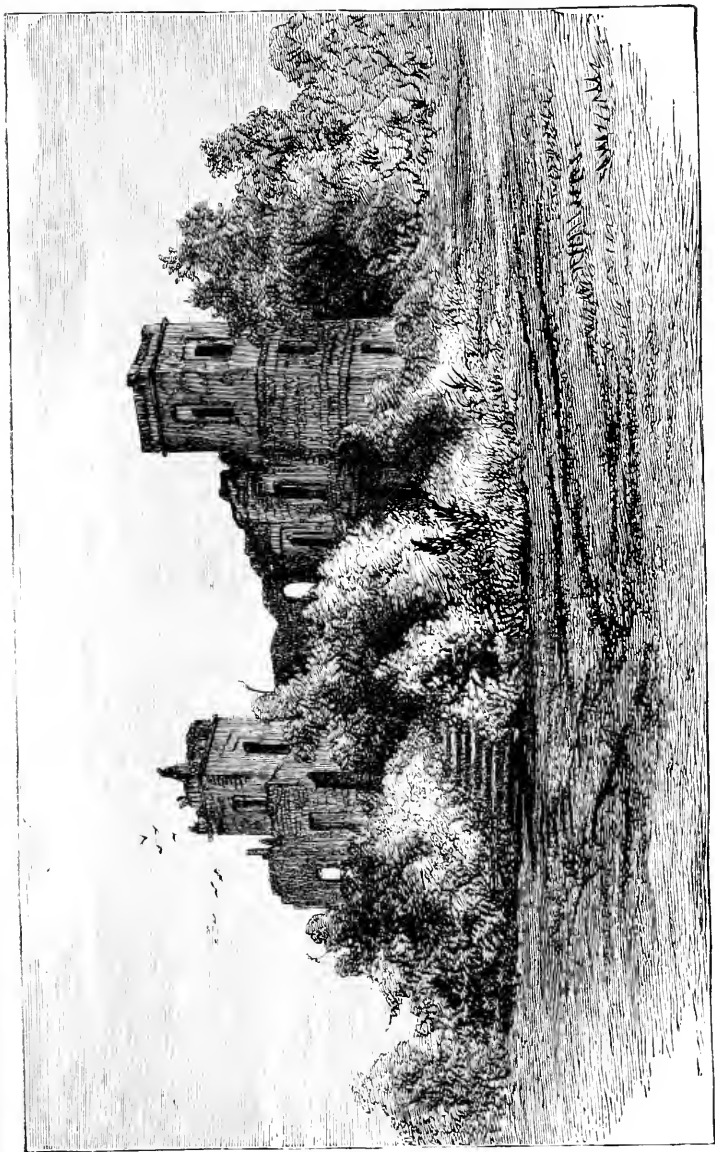
Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta, to take the command-in-chief of the army in India, on the 13th of August 1857. His first care was to infuse a new life and energy into every branch of the military administration ; to reorganise the commissariat ; to cast field-guns ; to purchase horses ; to collect supplies ; to form a bullock-train for the conveyance of troops to Allahabad.¹ During September and October large reinforcements arrived, including the regiments which Lord Elgin, on hearing the state of affairs in India, had diverted from the Chinese expedition. Lord Elgin also put at the disposal of the Governor-General H.M.'s ships *Shannon* and *Pearl* and their crews ; and Captain (Sir) William Peel placed himself at the head of a fine body of 450 picked seamen, who came to be known as the Naval Brigade, for service in the approaching campaign.

The relief of Lucknow being his most pressing anxiety, the commander-in-chief, as soon as his preparations were completed, set out for Allahabad on the 27th of October, with the army headquarters and staff. Pushing forward his reinforcements to Cawnpur, he arrived there himself on the 3rd of November. Already Sir Hope Grant, with an effective strength of 5500 men, had crossed the Ganges, and advancing rapidly, had encamped on the plain between Banni and the

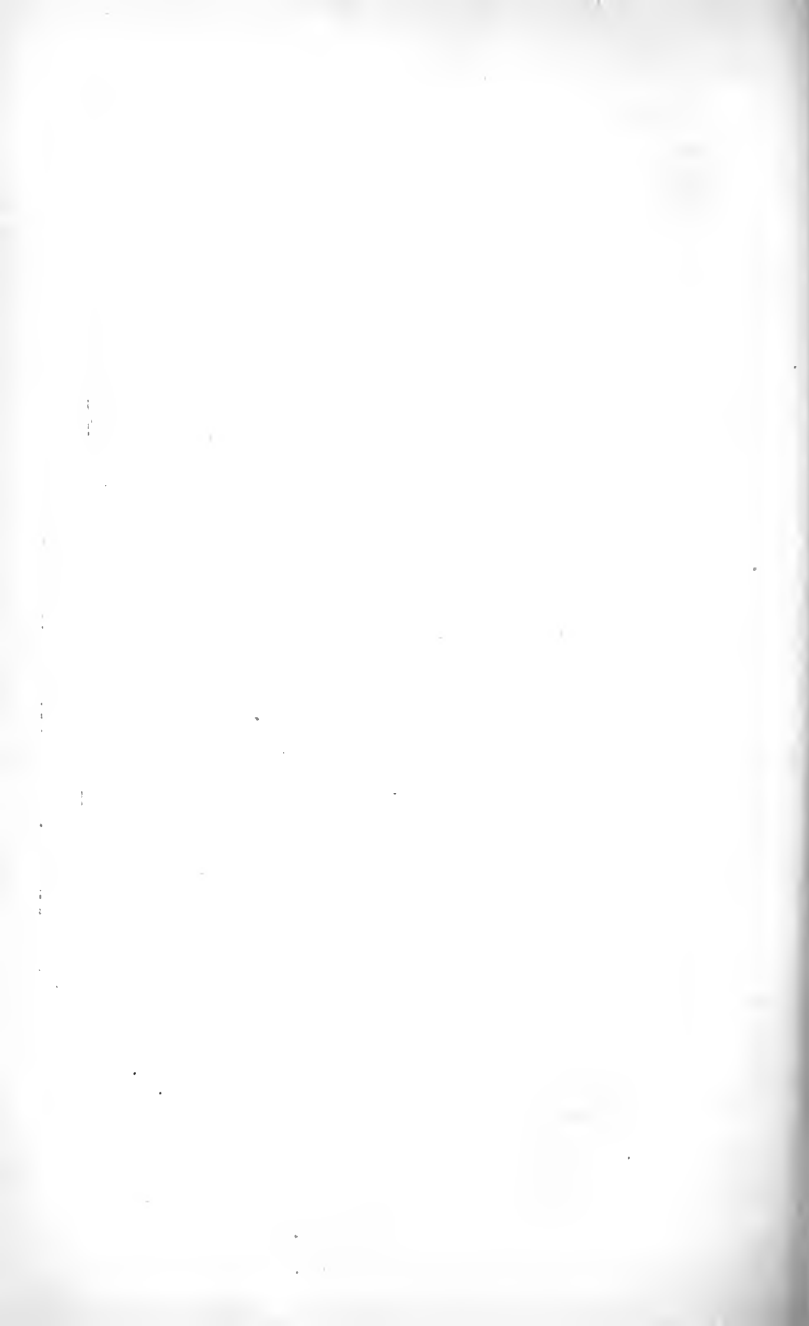
¹ "This train was composed of a number of covered waggons, in each of which a fixed number of European soldiers could sit at ease. To draw them, a proportionate number of bullocks were posted at stages all along the road. The starting-point of the bullock-train was the railway terminus at Raniganj, 120 miles from Calcutta. The soldiers, leaving the train, were supposed to enter the bullock-carriages and to travel in them all night and in the early hours of the morning and evening, resting for food during the heat of the day. This scheme was soon brought to perfection, and was made to work so as to land daily in Allahabad two hundred men fresh and fit for work, conveyed in the space of a fortnight from Calcutta."

—MALLESON.

Alambagh, forming, as it were, the rallying-point to which all detachments and convoys as they came up were directed. Leaving behind him a garrison of 500 Europeans, a few Sikhs, and some artillerymen, under Major-General Charles A. Windham, to hold Cawnpur, he joined the army in the field, and assumed the command on the 9th. Next morning he was surprised by the arrival of an adventurous gentleman, Thomas Henry Cavanagh, who, in the disguise of a Budmash or soldier for plunder, had stolen out of Lucknow, and at imminent risk had made his way through the sepoy host, carrying on his person important dispatches—a feat of heroism for which he deservedly received the Victoria Cross. Sir Colin was thus informed of the position of the beleaguered garrison, and of the route by which he could most safely and expeditiously advance. Then, at sunrise on the 12th, at the head of 3400 fighting men, he moved forward upon the Alambagh, which he reached almost unopposed. He found it occupied by 930 Europeans and a few Sikhs, with eight guns. There he left his camp equipage; and having given orders that whilst supplies for fourteen days for himself and the troops in Lucknow should accompany him, every soldier should carry in his haversack three days' rations, and having received reinforcements from Cawnpur, which, with the Alambagh garrison, brought his force up to 4700 men with 49 guns, on the morning of the 14th he began the work of fighting by attacking the Dilkusha palace, south-east of the town, and afterwards the huge building known as the Martinière, both of which were carried with comparatively little loss. The troops then bivouacked for the night. The following day, the 15th, was spent in making preparations for the grand advance. The whole of the heavy baggage, the supplies for fourteen days, and the sick and wounded were conveyed into the Dilkusha, which was rapidly fortified, and a force detailed to guard it. Cannonading the Sikandra Bagh, the chief position of the rebels, he threw his whole army against it, and stormed it after a desperate contest, prolonged almost until nightfall. The sepoys, standing at bay, fought with obstinacy, and having the advantage of numbers and position, were not easily subdued.



DILKUSHA PALACE, LUCKNOW, WHERE HAVELOCK DIED, 1857.—P. 422.



"The contest for the possession of the enclosure was bloody and desperate, the rebels fighting with all the energy of despair. Nor did the struggle end when our men forced their way inside. Every room, every staircase, every corner of the towers was contested. Quarter was neither given nor asked for, and when at last our men were masters of the place, more than two thousand rebel corpses lay heaped upon each other. It is said that of all who garrisoned it only four escaped, but even the escape of four is doubtful."

On the road from the Sikandra Bagh to the Residency stood the Shah Najif, a large mosque, situated in a garden enclosed by a high loopholed wall. Sir Colin deemed it essential to the completion of the day's work that this should be carried—a difficult and dangerous operation, for about and around it were jungle and enclosures, with trees and scattered mud cottages, all affording cover for the enemy's musketry. After cannonading and shelling it for three hours with little effect, he called up the 93rd Highlanders; in a few soldier-like words told them it *must* be taken, and that they must take it with the bayonet. Never did British troops display a more splendid gallantry. They swept down upon it, heedless of the fire that thinned their ranks, and the sepoy, panic-stricken by so much courage, abandoned it in hot haste, unable to face those terrible Scotch warriors. Then Sir Colin's fighting men rested for the night, lying down in line with their arms in their hands.

On the 17th the mess-house was stormed by Captain (now Lord) Wolseley, who pushed on victoriously, and, in defiance of orders, stormed and carried the Moti Mahal, the last building held by the rebels on the line communicating with Outram and Havelock. Then the two generals with their staffs came out from the Residency and joyfully greeted the commander-in-chief. The relief of the garrison was accomplished, and the rescuers and the rescued joined in a cheer of exultation and thanksgiving, which, as it rolled over the plain, almost silenced the crash of the rebel guns.

Yes, the relief of the garrison was accomplished; but Sir Colin Campbell's work was only half done, and that which

remained to be done was calculated to tax to the utmost his highest qualities as a general. The garrison, with the women and children, the sick and wounded, the guns and stores, had to be withdrawn, and withdrawn in the face of the vast forces of the enemy. One narrow winding lane was the sole opening to the rear, and through this channel the long procession had to defile. To protect its passage the whole of the immense line from the ruined walls of the Residency to the wooded park of the Dilkusha had to be held, necessitating a most hazardous extension of our little army. Sir Colin Campbell's dispositions were made, however, with a care and skill which ensured success. At dusk on November the 22nd, the troops began to evacuate the Residency, with its shot-torn walls, which had been the scene of so heroic a defence. This operation was effected under cover of a tremendous bombardment of the Kaiserbagh, which diverted the attention of the rebels. On the 24th we may note that the army sustained a severe loss by the death of the gallant Sir Henry Havelock, the type and pattern of a Christian warrior; on the evening of the 26th his remains were temporarily deposited in a humble grave in the Alambagh. Leaving Sir James Outram, with 4000 men and 25 guns, to hold the Alambagh until he returned to recapture the city, Sir Colin, with 3000 men, started for Cawnpur on the 27th, guarding a convoy of 2000 sick and wounded, women and children. To his chagrin he discovered, on approaching the town, that General Windham, contrary to his express instructions, had delivered an attack upon Tantia Topi and the Gwalior rebels, who were massing in the neighbourhood, had been defeated, and that the rebels, flushed with success, had occupied parts of Cawnpur. Passing his army over the Jumna, and securely encamping it, the commander spent some days in completing arrangements for the transport of the convoy to Allahabad, and saw it depart in safety on the evening of December the 3rd. Then, on the 6th, he fell upon Tantia Topi's thousands, beat them thoroughly, captured their guns, seized their camp, and pursued the fugitives for miles along the Kalpi road. Next day the pursuit was continued by Sir Hope Grant, and the rebel army anni-

hilated. These great results were attained by the British with a loss to them of only ninety-one killed and wounded.

Sir Colin Campbell's Second Advance to Lucknow.

After some brilliant operations in the opening days of 1858, in which the Doab was cleared of rebels and the fort of Fatehgarh recovered, Sir Colin Campbell, at the express instance of Lord Canning, prepared for his second advance upon Lucknow and re-conquest of Oudh. By the 23rd of February he had collected on the sandy plains between Unao and Bunni the most efficient European army that India had ever seen. It counted 17 battalions of infantry, of which 15 were British; 28 squadrons of cavalry, including 4 English regiments; 54 light and 8 heavy guns and mortars. These were afterwards joined by a Nepalese contingent and some European battalions, 6000 in all, under General Franks, who had defeated the rebels in Eastern Oudh, so that, inclusive of the division under Outram, the commander-in-chief had at his disposal a force of 20,000 men and 180 guns. With such a force, under such a commander, success was assured. On the 2nd of March he assaulted and captured the Dilkusha, and posted guns to command the Martinière, the fire of which was quickly silenced. On the 5th arrived General Franks. Outram's force then crossed the Gumti, and advanced upon the rebel position along the left bank of the river (March 6th to 9th), while the main body attacked from the south-east. After a week's severe fighting, from the 9th to the 16th, every point was occupied, and the whole city in the possession of the British. The mutineers fled in all directions, and never rallied again in any considerable body or attempted any combined system of operations.

On the measures which Sir Colin¹ afterwards adopted for the re-conquest of Western and South-Western Oudh, and the expulsion of the enemy from Rohilkhand, I have not the space to dwell, nor is it necessary to say more than that they were completely successful. The Oudh army, having nobly done

¹ For his great services Sir Colin was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Clyde of Lucknow.

its work, was broken up, and the reorganisation of the province was vigorously proceeded with. When the Governor-General and Lady Canning visited Lucknow in state on the 18th of October, they found the city already recovering its prosperity, and the province settling down in tranquillity, as if the Mutiny had been but an evil dream.

The Mutiny struck the death-knell of the East India Company as a political body and governing power. At successive periods it had undergone a diminution of its privileges, its responsibilities, and its prerogatives, both politically and commercially. It was inevitable that such should be the case. A joint-stock company could not always monopolise the commerce or administer the government of an empire. We have seen that in 1773 Parliament interfered to regulate its constitution and define its various departments, raising the Governor of Bengal to the rank of Governor-General, appointing a Supreme Court of Judicature, and conferring on the Governor-General and his Council the right of making rules, ordinances, and regulations. In 1784 Parliament went further, and, by founding the Board of Control, provided for the constant exercise of the supreme authority of the Crown through its responsible Ministers. In 1813 the Company was deprived of its monopoly of Indian trade. In 1833 Parliament took away its exclusive Chinese trade, and at the same time reformed the constitution of the Indian Government, adding to the Governor-General's Council a law-member, who was not required to be one of the Company's servants, and conferring on the laws and regulations made by the Governor-General in Council the authority of Acts of Parliament, and strengthening the Governor-General's control over the other Presidencies in all matters of civil and military administration. The number of directors was reduced, and appointments in the Indian civil service were thrown open to competition. And now, in 1858, the Company was wholly set aside, and the government of India directly vested in the Crown. The statute which effected this important final alteration is known as "An Act for the Better Government of India" (21st and 22nd Vict., c. 106), and received the royal assent on August 2, 1858. Consisting of

eighty-five sections, it provides that India shall be governed by and in the name of the Queen through one of her principal Secretaries of State, assisted by a Council of fifteen members, to be styled the Council of India, the majority of these members being persons "who shall have served or resided in India for ten years at least," and "shall not have left India more than ten years next preceding the date of their appointment." It provides that any order or communication sent to the Indian Administration shall be signed by the Secretary of State for India, but that the Council shall, under his direction, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India and the correspondence thence arising. It provides that in all cases of difference of opinion the Secretary of State's decision shall be final, but each member may require that his opinion, and his reasons for holding it, be entered in the minutes of the proceedings. Whenever the Secretary decides in opposition to the majority, he shall record *his* reasons. It provides that all appointments hitherto made by the directors, with her Majesty's approbation, shall henceforth be made by her Majesty, by warrant, under her sign-manual. It provides that appointments to the civil service, as well as cadetships in the engineers and artillery, shall be thrown open to public competition, and conferred on the successful candidates in the order of proficiency. And it makes further provisions with respect to the Company's property, revenues, and existing establishments, which, as their effect was only temporary, need not here be quoted. The Governor-General by this Act received the new title of Viceroy. At the same time the European army of the Company, which was about 24,000 strong, was amalgamated with the royal army, and the Indian navy abolished.

The assumption of the government of India by the Crown and the policy consequent thereupon were announced to the princes, chiefs, and peoples of India by an important proclamation, which has not unjustly been designated their Magna Charta, though it was willingly granted, and not extorted from a reluctant sovereign, like the Great Charter of our English liberties. It fell to the lot of Lord Canning, as the first Indian

Viceroy, to publish it at a grand durbar held for the purpose at Allahabad on the 1st of November 1858. As it initiated the new order of imperial government, its more important passages must be quoted here. "We hereby announce," it said in stately language, worthy of the occasion and the subject, "to the native princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, shall enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can be secured only by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge. We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from

their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and we will that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

The proclamation concluded with the offer of an amnesty to all offenders, "save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy." It went on to say that "to those who have willingly given an asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to any circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men. To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offence against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first day of January next. When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

On no previous Governor of India had devolved so heavy a burden of responsibility as that which the sudden outbreak of the great Mutiny, dislocating the entire fabric of administration over a considerable portion of the empire, had inflicted on Lord Canning. At the time his conduct, in some details

at all events, met with severe animadversion; but it is now, I think, universally admitted that he bore his burden with wisdom and courage, with the fortitude of a hero and the foresight of a statesman. The sobriquet of "Clemency Canning" applied to him by some fanatical adherents of the doctrine of force, is now remembered to his honour, and we record with praise his thoughtful resolve and purpose to deal impartially with all classes, to keep himself free from any desire of vengeance or lust of blood, and to combine justice with mercy—a wise ruler's two great prerogatives. In the darkest hour his spirit never quailed; under the sharpest pressure his equanimity was never disturbed. And while we acknowledge with gratitude the great services of the distinguished generals and civil servants who were more directly concerned in the suppression of the rebellion, we must remember that they were guided, encouraged, and supported in their arduous work by the calm sagacity and unflinching intrepidity of Lord Canning.

Peace was proclaimed throughout India on the 8th of July 1859. Shortly afterwards, Lord Canning, who had been raised to an earldom as a public appreciation of his services, set out on a viceregal progress through the northern and north-western provinces, receiving everywhere the homage of the loyal princes and chiefs, and dispensing with liberal hand the rewards their fidelity had deserved. His reception was most gratifying, and his progress attended with a pomp and circumstance not unbecoming his position or his mission.

The suppression of the Mutiny increased the Indian debt by about £40,000,000, and the necessary military changes added a sum of about £10,000,000 to the annual expenditure. To place Indian finance on a sound and satisfactory basis, the Right Hon. James Wilson, well known for his mastery of financial and economic questions, was sent out to India in 1859. The financial changes which he introduced were of considerable magnitude, and provoked much hostile criticism; they have been justified, however, by experience. He completely remodelled the antiquated and cumbrous customs system, imposed an income-tax and a license-duty, and in March 1860 created a state paper currency. In the middle of his splendidly

useful work he died (August 11, 1860), but the main lines of his fiscal policy have been adopted by his successors.

The later events of Earl Canning's viceroyalty must be enumerated briefly. The Penal Code, originally drawn up by Lord Macaulay in 1837, was revised and adopted in 1860, and in the following year codes of civil and criminal procedure were promulgated. The first half of the year 1861 was unhappily obscured by the occurrence of a terrible famine in the North-Western Provinces, and the Indian Government, for the first time, made a vigorous and comprehensive effort to mitigate the consequent distress. It is estimated that half a million persons were relieved at a cost of more than three-quarters of a million sterling. Great Britain came forward with noble liberality to assist her suffering dependency, and a sum of £114,807 was subscribed by the benevolent between March and November. On the 25th of June was gazetted a new and highly honourable order of knighthood, known as the Order of the Star of India (enlarged in 1866). It comprises the sovereign, the grand master, twenty-five knights (Europeans and natives), and extra or honorary knights. By the Indian Councils Act, passed in the same year (1861), the Viceroy's Council, and also the Councils at Madras and Bombay, were augmented by the addition of non-official members, Indians as well as Europeans, exclusively for legislative purposes. The first meeting of the Legislative Council at Calcutta was held on the 18th of January 1862, and attended by several Indian princes. By another Act the old supreme courts at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were converted into high courts of judicature, with enlarged powers.

Earl Canning, broken in health by the strain of his colossal work, left India in March 1862, and arrived at Southampton on the 26th of April. On the 17th of June he died, another of those great and brave Englishmen who have given their lives for the welfare of the British Empire in India. He was succeeded in the viceroyalty by the Earl of Elgin, who in various honourable public employments had gained a high reputation.



CHAPTER XII.

RECENT VICEROYALTIES, 1862-1888.

Lord Elgin, 1862-1863—Lord Lawrence, 1863-1868—Lord Mayo, 1868-1872—Lord Northbrook, 1872-1876—Lord Lytton, 1876-1880—Lord Ripon, 1880-1884—Lord Dufferin, 1884-1888.

WE have now arrived at a period which falls within the range of what may be called contemporary history, and the sources of information are not as yet sufficiently ample, nor are men's minds sufficiently free from political prejudice or individual bias, to render it advisable for us to do more than offer an impartial summary of events, and indicate occasionally the important questions of policy or government connected with them.

The Earl of Elgin was installed in the viceroyalty on the 11th of March 1862. The Indian climate soon told upon a not very robust constitution, and before he could signalise his term of office by any great reform, he fell a victim to disease, dying at the Himalayan station of Dharmsala¹ on the 20th of November 1863. He lies interred in the Dharmsala churchyard, where a monument has been erected to his memory.

Public opinion, as well as the Government, selected as his natural successor the most distinguished of Indian civil servants, Sir John Lawrence.

¹ *Dharmsala*, lat. 32° 15' 42" N., long. 76° 22' 46" E., on a spur of the Dharla Dhar mountains; 16 miles from Kangra.

Lord Lawrence, 1863-1868.

John Laird Mair Lawrence, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, governor of Upnor Castle, was born at Richmond, in Yorkshire, in 1811, so that he was five years younger than his distinguished brother Henry. At the age of sixteen he was sent to Haileybury to be educated for the Indian civil service, and exhibited his intellectual vigour and versatility by carrying off the law medal, the history prize, and three prizes for proficiency in the study of the languages of the East. He entered the civil service in 1821, and ran through every grade from assistant-magistrate to chief commissioner, and thence to the vice-royalty. After co-operating with his brother in the settlement of the Punjab, he was chosen by Lord Dalhousie to succeed him as the head of its newly-established administration, and received a K.C.B. in 1857 in acknowledgment of the excellent work he had accomplished. He had just reached Rawal Pindi to take up his duties as Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, when the massacre at Meerut announced the outbreak of the sepoy Mutiny. His quarter of a century's Indian experience assisted him at once to a full comprehension of the danger that threatened us, and he acted with an admirable promptitude and decision. The fires of insurrection flamed forth at Lahore and Peshawar, but were crushed out with instant resolution, and the ringleaders severely punished. Suspected regiments were disarmed or marched to the frontier, and replaced by local irregular corps drawn from the frontier districts. A movable column, at first under Brigadier Neville Chamberlain and afterwards under John Nicholson, was organised to move to any point where signs of anarchy and disorder appeared. A new Sikh army of 30,000 to 40,000 men was levied, disciplined, and equipped, while every effective European was hurried off to assist in the siege of Delhi; for Lawrence from the first regarded the recovery of the imperial city as essential to the retention of our hold upon India. These and other conspicuous services contributed so potently to the suppression of the Mutiny, that Lawrence was popularly known as "the saviour of India;" and the Crown rewarded

him with a baronetcy, a Grand Cross of the Bath, and a pension of £1000 annually.

He assumed office as Viceroy on the 10th of January 1864. The chief incidents of his administration were the Bhutan war, 1865, and the great Orissa famine, 1866.

The Bhutan War, 1865.

Bhutan is an independent state in the Eastern Himalayas, bounded on the north by Tibet, on the east by a mountainous region inhabited by uncivilised tribes, on the west by Sikkim, and on the south by Assam and the Bengal district of Jalpai-guri. Its population is described by the few travellers who have visited the country as hardy and vigorous, but in their moral condition unspeakably degraded.

As scarcely a year passed in which the Bhutias, headed by their officials, did not break into British territory, plundering our subjects and murdering them, or carrying them off into slavery, the Government of India resolved to interfere actively, and in 1863 dispatched the Hon. Ashley Eden on a mission to demand reparation. Unfortunately he was not only unsuccessful, but underwent the grossest insults, and was compelled to sign a treaty ceding the disputed territory to Bhutan and making other concessions. On Mr. Eden's release the Viceroy disavowed the treaty and demanded the immediate restoration of all British subjects kidnapped during the previous five years. When the Bhutias refused compliance, he issued a proclamation on November 12, 1864, by which the eleven western or Bengal dwars or mountain passes were annexed to the Queen's Indian dominions. Military posts were accordingly advanced to the new frontier without opposition from the Bhutias, but suddenly on the 29th of January they attacked the British garrison at Dirvangiri, and though at first repulsed, they compelled our soldiers to retire with the loss of two mountain guns. An expedition was immediately dispatched under General Tombs to punish this act of aggression. Dirvangiri was recaptured on the 2nd of April, and the Bhutias speedily made overtures for peace, which was concluded on the 11th of November. In the following year the Bhutan Government formally ceded all

the eighteen dwars or passes of Bengal and Assam, and agreed to liberate all kidnapped British subjects.

The Orissa Famine, 1866.

A prolonged drought and consequent failure of crops induced a terrible outbreak of famine in the province of Orissa, which forms the extreme south-western portion of the Bengal Presidency, in 1866, and caused the loss of 1,500,000 lives—one-fourth of the whole population of the province. Alarm was first entertained in October 1865, when the expected rains had not set in. The rice supply almost immediately fell short; the bazaars at Cuttack and Puri were closed, and on the 6th of November rice had risen to the price of a rupee for 16 lbs. Actual want began to be experienced in April 1866, when a rupee purchased only 11 lbs. of the staple article of food, and death by starvation lowered before the poorer classes as their swiftly approaching fate. In July prices had risen to eight times their normal amount, and throughout the country the people resorted to grass to stifle the pangs of hunger. A relief committee was instituted, which gradually extended its operations; relief depots were opened in all the principal towns; large quantities of rice for gratuitous distribution were sent from Calcutta to convenient central points, and Government relief was also given to the distressed in the shape of public works. But it took some months to get all this machinery into operation, and at no time did it cover the whole area affected by the famine, so that thousands perished daily. As the province had no surplus stock of grain and rice to fall back upon, the food-supplies had all to be imported, and it was actually impossible to make these importations on a scale in any way adequate to the destitution that prevailed. The distress was further increased by the floods which occurred later in the year, when the people were looking forward to the coming harvest as their hope of salvation. These floods extended over 1052 square miles of country, the water lying from 3 to 15 feet deep in most parts for thirty days, submerging the homesteads of a million and a half of husbandmen, and destroying crops to the value of £300,000.

"The mortality," say the Famine Commissioners in their report, "may be said to have reached its culminating point at the beginning of the second week of August, during the heavy rains which preceded and caused the disastrous floods of this same year. The people were then in the lowest stage of exhaustion, the emaciated crowds collected at the feeding stations had no sufficient shelter, and the cold and wet seem to have killed them in fearful numbers. The defect of shelter was remedied, but the people throughout evinced great dislike to occupy the sheds erected for them. In August the mountain streams which intersect Orissa rose to an almost unprecedented height, the embankments were topped and breached in all directions, and the whole of the low-lying country was flooded by an inundation which lasted for an unusual time and caused terrible aggravation of the distress. Mr. Kirkwood thus reported to the collector:— 'The houseless poor looked in vain for shelter from rain that penetrated everywhere. The known deaths from diarrhoea and dysentery and other similar diseases increased greatly. It is feared that the unknown deaths must have been still more numerous, for persons could not reach the *anna chhatras* or relief-depots, to which alone they looked for support. In most of the low-lying lands the *biali* or autumn rice crop, which would have been reaped in another week or fortnight, was almost entirely destroyed, and the young cold-weather crops suffered much from protracted immersion. Although new relief-centres were opened, yet in several cases it was found quite impossible to supply those already opened with rice, owing to the boats from False Point being unable to make way against the powerful current that then came down, and at several centres operations were altogether suspended. The result of this was a great aggravation of the already existing distress, for those who were congregated at the centres found, when the stock of rice ran out, that they were cut off by the floods from other aid, and many died from sheer starvation.'

"In September there was some relief, not only by the greater extension and better supply of the feeding centres and sale depots, but also from the ripening of the small early crop of

rice in tracts which had escaped the flood. At best, however, the distress was still but a degree less than before ; . . . it may be doubted whether the results of previous suffering, joined to its present continuance and the effect of unaccustomed food on those who were much reduced, did not increase the distress.

“In November the new crop began to come into the market in considerable quantity, and then the general famine may be said to have come to an end. The people returned to their avocations, leaving only the very emaciated, the orphans, and the widows. Considerable distress, however, still existed in the unfortunate tracts which had suffered a second calamity by the floods of August, and in these relief operations were continued for some time further.”

When in 1868-69 famine of considerable severity occurred in Bundelkhand and Upper Hindustan, the Viceroy, for the first time in Indian history, established the principle that the Government officials must be held personally responsible for employing every possible means to relieve distress and prevent death by starvation.

A grand durbar was held by Sir John Lawrence at Lahore on the 18th of October 1864, at which 604 native princes and chiefs were present. The Viceroy held another at Agra from the 10th to the 20th of November 1866, and one at Lucknow from the 9th to the 17th of November 1867.

Among the minor events of the viceroyalty may be mentioned the opening of the Indo-European telegraph on the 2nd of March 1865, the commercial panic of 1866, which threatened the rising tea trade of Bengal ; the war in the North-Western Provinces in October 1868, when General Wilde defeated and dispersed the Musalman fanatics known as the Bazotis ; and the recognition of Sher Ali, son of Dost Muhammad, as Amir of Afghanistan.

In January 1869 Sir John Lawrence retired, and was succeeded by the Earl of Mayo. On his return to England he was raised to the peerage as Baron Lawrence. Happier than his predecessors, he enjoyed his honours for several years, continuing to the last to be consulted with respect on all questions

connected with the government of India. He died in 1879, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.¹

The Earl of Mayo, 1869-1872.

Lord Mayo took the oaths as Viceroy on the 12th of January 1869.²

His appointment to this great office had taken the public by surprise, for Lord Mayo's gifts were hardly of the kind which attract the popular attention or impress the popular imagination; and though he had held the Irish Chief-Secretaryship under three administrations, and had gained the ear of the House of Commons by the breadth of view and clearness of judgment which marked his speeches, he had not made for himself any considerable reputation out of doors. His acceptance of the Viceroyalty was the occasion, therefore, of much hostile criticism (inspired to a great extent by party spirit), which, it is pleasant to think, Lord Mayo lived to expose, in all its futility and illiberality, by the noble and successful work of his too brief Indian career. "Every native prince who met him," it has been said, "looked upon Lord Mayo as the ideal of an English Viceroy. They all felt instinctively that they could place perfect confidence in everything that he told them; and their respect—I ought rather to say their reverence—was all the deeper because, while they knew that he was their master, they felt also that he was their friend."

We have alluded to Lord Lawrence's recognition of Sher Ali as Amir of Afghanistan. He sent him at the same time a present of £20,000, and promised him £100,000 more. He likewise consented to receive a visit of respect from him within British territory, and to treat him with the honours due to the sovereign of Afghanistan. It fell to Lord Mayo to receive the Amir's visit, which took place at Ambala in March

¹ We have not space to discuss the foreign policy of Lord Lawrence. A full statement of it will be found in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1867 (by the late Mr. John Wyllie, C.S.I.), and in Mr. Bosworth Smith's Biography.

² Richard Southwell Bourke, sixth Earl of Mayo, was born in Dublin on the 21st of February 1822.

1869. We are told that in passing through the Punjab to Ambala, the Afghan stolidity of the Amir broke out into expressions of admiring surprise at the prosperity, peace, and proofs of wise government revealed at every stage. "Those English," he said, "are wonderful people. We know they can fight and rough it as well as anybody else, and yet they keep their houses clean and surround themselves with luxuries. Why should we go on living in the filth and discomfort of our homes?" He was much struck by the British barracks. "They are more magnificent and well-furnished," he remarked, "than any building in my kingdom, not excepting my palace." And he had a keen eye for the results of our administration. "The English, wherever they go, leave prosperity in their track; but it cannot be otherwise under their system of rule, which makes the welfare of the multitude the object of Government." The interviews between the Viceroy and the Amir were exceedingly cordial, though the latter failed to obtain the concessions he desired, namely, a fixed annual subsidy, assistance in arms or in men when he required it, and an engagement to support on the Afghan throne himself and his descendants. But he was treated with such splendid hospitality and with so frank a courtesy, with so much tact and conciliatory firmness, that he returned to Afghanistan deeply impressed with the advantage of being on good terms with the British Power. At the close of the negotiations, Lord Mayo formally conveyed his assurances of support to the Amir in the following terms:—"Although, as already intimated to you, the British Government does not desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, yet, considering that the bonds of friendship between that Government and your Highness have been more closely drawn than heretofore, it will view with severe displeasure any attempts on the part of your rivals to disturb your position as ruler in Kabul and rekindle civil war; and it will further endeavour, from time to time, by such means as circumstances may require, to strengthen the Government of your Highness, to enable you to exercise with equity and with justice your rightful rule, and to transmit to your descendants all the dignity and honour of which you are the lawful posses-

sor. It is my wish, therefore, that your Highness should communicate frequently and freely with the Government of India and its officers on all subjects of public interest ; and I can assure your Highness that any representations which you may make will always be treated with consideration and respect."

Lord Mayo was no advocate of what in India is known as the forward policy, nor did he regard the advances of Russia in Central Asia with the suspicion of the Russophobic school. He absolutely declined to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, or to incur fresh imperial responsibilities by an extension of the Indian frontier. His policy consisted in surrounding India with "strong, friendly, and independent states, who will have more interest in keeping well with us than with any other Power." The Central Asia question, in his opinion, could derive importance only from imprudent action on the part of the governors of India. "We cannot view with any feelings of alarm," he said, "the advance in Asia of a civilised Christian Power, and the establishment of its influence over wild and savage tribes. If Russia could only be brought to act cordially with us, to say that she would not obstruct our trade, that she would not encourage any hostile aggression or intrigue against Afghanistan, Yarkand, or the territories lying on our frontier, and that she would stop with a strong hand the internecine feuds among those nations over whom she possesses influence, she would find that her mission in Asia would be facilitated, and that the civilisation of the wide districts of Central Asia and the complete establishment of her power would be greatly hastened." But while desirous of a definite and an amicable understanding, Lord Mayo was no more afraid of Russia than the most truculent supporters of a forward policy. "I am rather inclined to believe," he wrote, "that Russia is ignorant of our power. She seems to forget that we are in possession (if inclined to exercise it) of enormous influence, great wealth, and compact organisation ; that we are established, compact, and strong in Asia, whilst she is exactly the reverse ; and that it is the very feeling of this power which justifies us in assuming that passive policy which, though it may be occasionally carried too far, is right in principle."

The administrative and financial reforms accomplished by Lord Mayo were founded upon enlightened principles, and carried out with unflinching tenacity of purpose. By a temporary increase of taxation and a judicious reduction of expenditure he succeeded in wiping away the large annual deficits which threatened to involve the Government in serious disaster. He effected radical improvements in the methods in which the imperial accounts were annually made up, and introduced a system of provincial finance—each province being left to meet its special wants by levying local rates under certain restrictions—which has unquestionably done much, and will do more, to stimulate political life among the people, and create strong ties of interest and duty between them and their European governors. He also laid the foundation for the reform of the salt-duties, and thus put it in the power of his successors to abolish the old “customs lines,” which isolated the provinces from one another and crippled the trade between British India and the feudatory states. A highly competent authority thus sums up the results of Lord Mayo’s vigorous financial policy: “He found serious deficit, and left substantial surplus. He found estimates habitually untrustworthy; he left them thoroughly worthy of confidence. He found accounts in arrear and statistics incomplete; he left them punctual and full. He found the relation between the local governments and the supreme government in an unsatisfactory condition, and the powers of the local governments for good hampered by obsolete financial bonds; he left the local governments working with cordiality, harmony, and freedom under the direction of the Governor-General in Council. He found the financial department conducted with a general laxity; he left it in vigorous efficiency.”

The internal resources of the empire were largely developed under Lord Mayo’s government by a judicious extension of the means of intercommunication, railways, roads, irrigation works. In each department his active and sagacious influence was beneficially felt, and in each he insisted that economy should be combined with efficiency. Taking up a suggestion left on record by his predecessor, he carried out, with

the advice and assistance of Sir Richard Strachey, a new system of railways for India, constructing them at the expense and under the supervision of the state, and working them as public enterprises for the public welfare. In like manner he developed with astonishing success Lord Lawrence's plans for husbanding and diffusing the water supply in provinces exposed to periodical droughts, and, as a consequence, to periodical famines. The trigonometrical measurement of India, the topographical mapping of its provinces, the revenue survey of its districts, the exploration of its coasts and seas, the geological scrutiny into its mineral wealth, the observation and record of its meteorological phenomena, the exploration of its agricultural products and its commercial capabilities, the minute researches of the settlement officers into the details of rural life—these and other branches of inquiry connected with the condition of the masses he gathered up into a firmly concentrated whole. His creation of an agricultural department was a proof of the wise and enlightened spirit which pervaded his administration. "I have only one object in all I do," he wrote to a friend. "I believe we have not done our duty to the people of this land. Millions have been spent on the conquering race which might have been spent in enriching and in elevating the children of the soil. We have done much, but we can do a great deal more. It is, however, impossible, unless we spend less on the 'interests' and more on the peoples." In these few words we find the keynote to Lord Mayo's policy. The well-being of the people of India was his final as it was his primary object.

Among the interesting incidents of his viceroyalty we must allude to the rise of a body of Indian religious reformers, who, under the leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen, and the title of the new Brahma Somaj, taught monotheistic doctrines; the visit of his Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh in December 1869 to April 1870, who was everywhere received with respectful consideration; the grand durbar at Bhartpur in October 1870; the campaign against the Lushais in December 1871, the military operations being conducted by Generals Nuthall and Bouchier; and the visit of the King of Siam to Calcutta in January 1872.

In the early part of 1872 Lord Mayo resolved on a visit of investigation to the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands. For this purpose he left Calcutta on the 24th of January, intending in the first place to visit Burma, next to call at the Andamans on the return passage across the Bay of Bengal, and then to inspect the province of Orissa. After spending some pleasant and useful days at Rangoon and Moulmein, he sailed from Moulmein on the 5th of February for the Andamans.

On the 8th of February his ship cast anchor off Hopetoun on the Andamans. Every precaution had been taken for his personal security, as the contemplated inspection was not without its dangers, the settlement comprising the worst and most desperate characters in India. He was surrounded by policemen armed with muskets, and in some places the troops were kept on the alert. All day he was busy and on the move; but nothing suspicious occurred, and towards evening he suggested that the party should ascend Mount Harriet, and from its summit watch the sunset over the waters of the great Indian Ocean. This was done; the splendour of the prospect amply recompensed him for a little additional exertion. "It's the loveliest thing I think I ever saw," he said, as he prepared to return to the pier and re-embark.

The descent was made in close order, for night was rapidly coming on. About three-quarters of the way down torch-bearers from Hopetoun met the Viceroy and his attendants; and thus guided they passed through the jungle and came out upon the shore. Thence they repaired to the jetty, two torch-bearers in front, the light shining strongly on the tall form of Lord Mayo, in a grey tussa-silk coat, close between his private secretary and the superintendent; the flag-lieutenant of the *Glasgow* and a colonel of engineers a few paces behind, on left and right; the armed police between them, but a little nearer the Viceroy. The superintendent turned aside, with Lord Mayo's leave, to give an order about the morning's programme, and the Viceroy stepped quickly forward before the rest to descend the stairs to the launch. The next moment those in the rear heard a noise as of "the rush of some animal" from behind a pile of loose stones at the pier-head.

A hand, a knife suddenly fell in the torchlight twice, and the private secretary hearing a thud, and instantly turning round, found a man "fastened like a tiger" on Lord Mayo's back.

"In a second twelve men were on the assassin, an English officer was pulling them off, and with his sword-hilt keeping back the native guards, who would have killed the assailant on the spot. The torches had gone out, but the Viceroy, who had staggered over the pier-side, was dimly seen rising up in the knee-deep water, and clearing the hair off his brow with his hand, as if recovering himself. His private secretary was instantly at his side helping him up the bank. 'Burns,' he said quietly, 'they have hit me.' Then in a louder voice, which was heard on the pier, 'It's all right; I don't think I'm much hurt,' or words to that effect. In another minute he was sitting under the smoky glare of the relit torches on a rude native cart at the side of the jetty, his legs hanging loosely down. Then they lifted him bodily on to the cart, and saw a great dark patch on the back of his light coat. The blood came streaming out, and men tried to staunch it with their handkerchiefs. For a moment or two he sat up on the cart, then he fell heavily backwards. 'Lift up my head,' he said faintly, and said no more.

"They carried him down to the steam-launch, some silently believing him dead. Others, angry with themselves for the bare surmise, cut open his coat and vest, and stopped the wound with hastily torn strips of cloth and the palms of their hands. Others kept rubbing his feet and legs. Three supported his head. The assassin lay tied and stunned a few yards from him. As the launch shot on in the darkness, eight bells rang across the water from the ships. When it came near the frigate, where the guests were waiting for dinner and jesting about some fish which they had caught for the meal, the lights in the launch were suddenly put out to hide what was going on in it. They lifted Lord Mayo gently to his cabin; when they laid him down in his cot, every one saw that he was dead."

The assassin, a convict named Shere Ali, was duly tried, sentenced, and on the 12th of March hanged at the usual place

of execution on Viper Island. He had long nourished a private grievance which he thought to redress by this public wrong. He had no instigators or accomplices, and his bloody deed was simply an act of vengeance, long brooded over, and wreaked at last upon the most illustrious person he could ever hope to find. Lord Mayo's dead body was carried back to Calcutta, where it was received with a passionate outburst of grief,—pathetic witness to the love and esteem which he had awakened in the native as well as in the European community.¹ It was afterwards conveyed to Ireland, and interred in the village churchyard near his family seat in Meath. The Indian Government settled a pension of £1000 a year on his widow, and granted a sum of £20,000 for his children.

Lord Napier of Ettrick, Governor of Madras, was summoned to the capital to discharge the routine duties of the viceregal office until a successor to Lord Mayo was appointed. This successor was found in Thomas Baring, Lord Northbrook, an experienced administrator and accomplished financier, who took the oaths at Calcutta on the 3rd of May 1872.

The Earl of Northbrook, 1872-1876.

Some considerable financial reforms were accomplished by Lord Northbrook during the four years that he held the viceroyalty; but it was not his good fortune to effect any of those great changes or carry through any of those successful wars which had inscribed the names of some of his predecessors on the records of fame. He displayed, however, considerable administrative capacity in organising the necessary measures for the relief of the sufferers from famine in Behar in 1873-74. Warned by the failure of the rains, and stimulated by the profound sympathy of the British public, the Government carried out an extensive system of relief, under the able direction of Sir Richard Temple. Distress was severely felt in fifteen districts, comprehending a population of 25,000,000 souls, while eleven other districts, with a population of 14,000,000, were

¹ A statue to Lord Mayo was erected at Calcutta, the cost being defrayed by public subscription. It was unveiled by the Prince of Wales on January 1, 1876.

more or less affected. But as the famine was confined within a comparatively limited area, which was well provided with channels of communication by rail and river, the Government succeeded, by an expenditure of £6,500,000 and the importation of a million tons of rice, in preventing any considerable loss of life,—a fact “which remains unparalleled in the annals of Indian famine.” It is said that not more than twenty-four deaths occurred from famine alone. Rain began to fall in force, and in September fell heavily, so that the following harvest proved to be one of great abundance.

In November 1874 an attempt was made to poison Colonel Phayre, the British Resident at Baroda. The Gaekwar Khandi Rao, who died in November 1870, left no male issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Malhen Rao, whose rule, however, was so tyrannical and profligate, that in 1873 the Government of India was compelled to appoint a commission to inquire into the charges brought against him through the Resident. The result of the inquiry was that the Government decided on allowing him seventeen months for effecting certain specified reforms. Before this period expired the attempt was made to poison the Resident. Circumstances led to a suspicion being entertained that the intended crime was instigated by the Gaekwar, who was therefore suspended from his high functions on January 14, 1875, and tried before a high commission, consisting of three Europeans and three native members (Sindhia and the Maharaja of Jaipur being two of them). We may note, in passing, that Lord Northbrook underwent much hostile criticism for including natives in his commission; nor was this criticism less severe when it was found that the native members declared the Gaekwar innocent, whereas the British members declared his guilt to be clearly established. The opinion of the Government may be inferred from the fact that it deposed him from the sovereignty of the Baroda state on the 22nd of April. He was succeeded by Syaji Rao, who visited England in the Jubilee year, 1887.

The most notable event in Lord Northbrook's viceroyalty was the Indian tour of the Prince of Wales, the success of which was in no small measure due to the completeness and

efficiency of the arrangements made by the Viceroy and his advisers. The Prince arrived at Bombay on November 8, 1875, and successively visited Baroda, November 9th, Goa, November 27th, Ceylon, December 1st to 8th, Madras, December 13th, and Calcutta, December 23rd, where, on the 24th, he held a splendid reception of Indian potentates, and on the 1st of January 1876 unveiled the statue of Lord Mayo. He then proceeded to Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Lucknow, to Nepal (in February), and returning to Bombay, sailed for England on the 13th of March. Everywhere he received a most loyal welcome, and it is generally admitted that his Royal Highness's visit had the happiest political effects. It would be impossible for us to attempt in these pages any description of the various stages of his brilliant progress, but, with the view of indicating the character of the festivities which attended it, we may accompany the Prince to Delhi.

He entered the imperial city early on the morning of Tuesday, January 11th, 1876. Passing through streets lined with soldiers in glittering uniforms and densely crowded with the native population, he saw, as he rode along, his banner waving from the palace of the Mughals, and by way of the Lahore Gate proceeded to the royal camp, which had been pitched about a mile and a half beyond. He arrived on the ground escorted by a squadron of the 10th hussars, and accompanied by the then commander-in-chief, Lord Napier of Magdala. The Maharaja Sindhia was also in attendance, dressed in a coat of black velvet embroidered thickly with gold, and mounted on a spirited Arab. The troops marched past in four divisions, commanding general admiration by their splendid appearance and the precision of their movements. Afterwards they executed various manœuvres, and the Prince having presented new colours to the 11th Bengal infantry, the review terminated.

In the evening Lord Napier of Magdala and the officers of the Delhi garrison gave a ball in—such is the strange irony of fate!—the historical palace of Aurangzeb, and the future king of England danced in the great hall in which the last king of

Delhi had been tried on a charge of complicity in mutiny and massacre by a tribunal composed of British officers.

On the following morning began a series of elaborate military manœuvres, the army being divided into two nearly equal columns, one of which, under Major-Generals Hardinge and Stewart, assumed the offensive, and represented an enemy marching upon the capital, while the other, under Major-Generals Sir Charles Reid and Macdonell, undertook its defence. The operations extended over three days, and were brilliantly successful.

On Monday the 17th, the cavalry, European and native, paraded before the Prince. Then followed a succession of sports, the chief of which were designed to exhibit the skill of certain regiments in sword exercises and tent-pegging. Afterwards the Prince visited the tomb of Humayun and the stately iron column of the Kotab Minar, erected by King Chandra in A.D. 307, to commemorate his victory over the Balhikas. He inspected also every place of interest associated with the events of the great Mutiny, including the breach in the city wall near the Kashmir Gate, through which the heroic Nicholson led his soldiers in the famous siege.

Early in 1876 Lord Northbrook retired from the Viceroyalty, not being in accord, it was said, with the new policy which the British Government, under Mr. Disraeli (afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield) and the Marquis of Salisbury, had resolved to initiate. He was succeeded by the present Earl of (then simply Lord) Lytton, the son of the celebrated novelist, himself a poet of no mean capacity, and a diplomatist of considerable experience.

The Earl of Lytton, 1876-1880.

Lord Lytton took the oaths of office at Calcutta on the 12th of April 1876. The Disraeli Ministry had meanwhile introduced into and carried through Parliament an Act which conferred on the Queen, to be used exclusively in her Oriental dominions, the new and splendid title of Empress of India (Kaisr-el-Hind), and on the 1st day of May, in London, formal proclamation was made of her Majesty's assumption of

this title, which declared her to be the occupant of the throne of Akbar. It was thought desirable that a similar proclamation should be made at Delhi, and that the occasion should be invested with additional importance by a grand and appropriate ceremonial. Lord Lytton, therefore, made a progress to Delhi, and in the old military cantonment, behind that historic ridge which, twenty years before, had been planted with British batteries pouring shot and shell into a revolted city, held a magnificent durbar, attended by almost all the princes, chiefs, warriors, and statesmen of India. Thus was celebrated New Year's Day, 1877. The festivities were continued for a week, and included a review of 15,000 picked soldiers of the Indian army.

The curse of famine fell again upon the country in 1876, 1877, and 1878. The drought began in Mysore, owing to the failure of the monsoon in 1875, and the shadow of distress and destitution impended over the North-Western Provinces until the rainfall of 1879. But the famine was felt most severely and most widely in Southern India. Over the entire Deccan, from Puna to Bangalore, the south-west monsoon failed to bring its usual fertilising rains in the summer of 1876, and in the autumn of the same year the rainfall proved deficient in the south-eastern districts of the Madras Presidency. Except in the deltas of the Godavari and Kistna, the total rainfall of 1876 scarcely anywhere exceeded ten inches, as compared with an average of about thirty inches. In 1877 the south-west monsoon withheld its rains for a second time, and through the year the distress of the population gradually increased. At last, in November 1877, the showers came in their full intensity with the north-east monsoon, and assured the crops of the coming season.

The area in Madras seriously visited by the famine was estimated by the Commission of Inquiry appointed in 1878 at 83,800 square miles, with a population of 19,400,000 persons. No district entirely escaped, except between the Kistna and Cape Comorin, but the misery was greatest in the country immediately south of the Tungabhadra, including the districts of Bellary, Anomtapur, Karnul, Cuddapah, and Nellore, and

farther south in North Arcot and Salwin. Mysore, it is said, suffered exceptionally. It was soon discovered that no adequate stores of food remained in the country, and the loss of life must have been very much greater than was unfortunately the case but for the energetic exertions of the Government and the stores of provisions poured into the country by the European mercantile houses from Bengal, Burma, and the Farther East.

According to the report of the Commission of Inquiry as condensed by Sir W. Hunter, the Madras Government at an early period endeavoured to provide against a possible deficient activity of private trade, or the failure of the food-supply in the less accessible districts, by purchasing 30,000 tons of rice and storing them in places where the demand for relief was likely to be greatest. At the same time they projected several large works of permanent utility. The Government of India, however, disapproved of both these steps, and decided that at that stage of the distress minor local works, which would not take the people far from their homes, should be organised. The purchased grain was partly used for relief purposes, and the remainder sold.

The Public Works Department at an early period began to find employment for the panic-stricken, but the greater part of the applicants were engaged on works under the supervision of the civil officers of the district. The numbers soon became very large, and by January 1877 had risen to over a million. In that month, when Sir Richard Temple visited the famine districts, he came to the conclusion that relief was given on too liberal a scale, and to persons not absolutely in need of it. The Madras Government adopted, therefore, a lower scale, the amount of money-wage being made to vary with the price of food-grain. The numbers employed then underwent for a time a considerable reduction, but they soon began to increase again, those on gratuitous relief increasing at a still higher rate, until the total exceeded in May a million, and in September rose to a maximum of 2,228,000.

The reduced wage, after a three months' trial, was abandoned as inadequate to the absolute needs of the labourer, and a

higher rate substituted at the end of May. It was at the same time decided that all weakly persons, and all incapable of performing one-half of a full task for a healthy adult, should be removed from the relief-works and supported at their homes; and a system of house-to-house relief was organised, under which a money dole was given sufficient for the applicant's support. The test of fitness was the certificate of the head village official, submitted to the village inspector, whose proceedings again were under the control of the relief officer of the *taluk*, so that there was little possibility of fraud being practised. Late in August, when it was evident that relief operations on a large scale must be continued at least to the end of the year, Lord Lytton visited Madras, and after consultation with the Governor of the Presidency, certain changes were resolved upon, and the main principles on which relief was to be administered emphatically defined. It was authoritatively announced that "a large scheme of useful public works under departmental supervision should be the backbone of the relief system," and a great expansion of such works was ordered, combined with the restriction of gratuitous relief in their villages to "those who are both incapable of work and without other adequate means of support." The direction of all matters connected with the famine was assumed by the Governor, who issued his orders directly to the district officers, and a large additional staff of officials was imported from Northern India to strengthen the supervising agency. These arrangements were complete when, as in Mysore, "the windows of heaven" were opened, and the welcome rain fell abundantly. There was hope again in the hearts of the people, and the numbers relieved fell with startling rapidity from 2,591,900 in September to 440,000 in December 1877, and in March 1878 to 215,000.

The abnormal mortality of the two famine years has been estimated at 2,000,000. The average number of persons relieved was 787,000 daily for the space of twenty-two months; and the total cost of the famine has been calculated at £8,000,000 sterling. The amount of grain imported into Madras by sea during the eighteen months ending in January

1878 was nearly 700,000 tons, which were distributed by means of the Madras and the South Indian railways.

As drought and its attendant consequences prevailed also in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Rajputana, and the Central Provinces, the total expenditure of the Government upon famine relief cannot be put at less than £11,000,000, not including the indirect loss of revenue over the amount debited against the state of Mysore. As to the loss of life, the Famine Commissioners say that "the mortality which occurred in the provinces under British administration during the period of famine and drought extending over the years 1877 and 1878 amounted, in a population of 197,000,000, to 5,500,000 in excess of the deaths that would have occurred had the seasons been ordinarily healthy; and the statistical returns have made certain what has long been suspected, that starvation and distress greatly check the fecundity of the population. It is probable that from this cause the number of births during the same period has been lessened by 2,000,000. The total reduction of the population would thus amount to about 7,000,000. Assuming the ordinary death-roll, taken at the rate of 35 per thousand, on 190,000,000 of people, the abnormal mortality of the famine period may be regarded as having increased the total death-rate by about 40 per cent.

Another Afghan war broke out in the autumn of 1878. From the moment of his assumption of the viceroyalty, Lord Lytton, in compliance with the instructions of the Home Government, but in departure from the policy of his immediate predecessors, had endeavoured to obtain the consent of the Amir of Afghanistan to the establishment of a British agency at his capital, and a conference was held at Peshawar for this purpose in 1877, which was abruptly terminated by the death of the Amir's envoy.

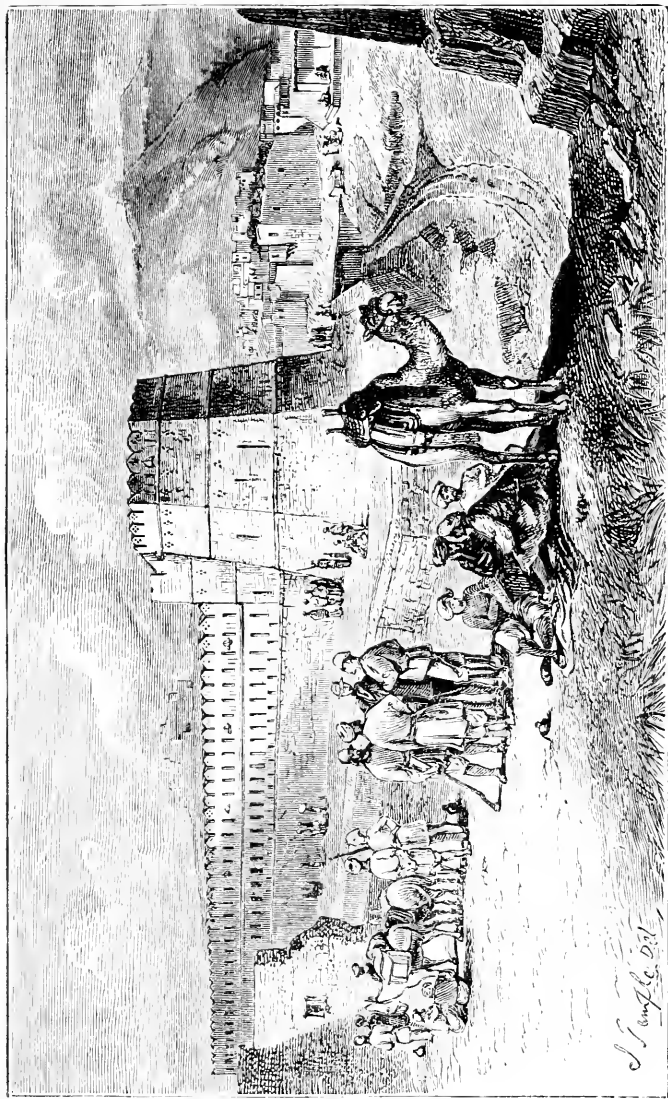
The Russian proclivities of the Amir were manifested by the honourable reception he accorded in July 1878 to a mission under General Stolietoff, while he shortly afterwards refused to allow a British mission, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, to cross the frontier. The Government of India took umbrage at this slight, and, after much irate correspondence,

dispatched an ultimatum, imposing certain terms upon Sher Ali, as indispensable to an amicable understanding. No reply being vouchsafed, the Amir's attitude was regarded as one of hostility, and a military expedition was decided upon. Proclamation of war was made on the 21st of November, and on the following day the British force (34,730 natives and 12,740 Europeans), which had been massed in three divisions, at Quetta, Peshawar, and Kuram, was set in motion. Ali Musjid was shelled and occupied, and within a few days the British were in possession of the Khaibar Pass and the Kuram valley, after having inflicted severe defeats on the Afghan troops. Jalalabad was occupied on the 20th of December. The Amir, accompanied by the Russian mission, had already withdrawn from Kabul, and on the 21st of February 1879 died, a heart-broken fugitive, at Mazar-i-Shariff, in Afghan Turkistan. His second son, Yakub Khan, who had been kept a close prisoner by his father at Kabul, but released before the Amir's flight, was recognised by the people as Amir.

On the 6th of January 1879 Sir Donald Stewart entered Kandahar unopposed. In the following May, alarmed by the victorious progress of the British, Yakub, the new Amir, voluntarily repaired to the British camp at Gandamak, and declared his submission, signing on the 26th a treaty by which he agreed to the establishment of a British Resident at Kabul and the complete subordination of the foreign relations of Afghanistan to British influence. It was also agreed that the British should annex the Khaibar Pass and the Kuram and Pishin valleys, so that our Indian Empire might obtain what Lord Beaconsfield termed a "scientific frontier." Peace having been concluded, the army retired, and Sir Louis Cavagnari, who had negotiated the Gandamak treaty, proceeded to Kabul as British Resident, and was welcomed with much apparent cordiality by the Amir. The Afghans, however, were as little disposed towards British intervention in their affairs in 1879 as they had been forty years before, and some regiments from Herat which had arrived in the capital combined with the mob in an attack upon the Residency, which, after a gallant defence,

was captured. Sir Louis Cavagnari, Mr. Jenkyns, his secretary, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Dr. Ambrose Kelly, with about twenty-six native troopers and fifty infantry, perished (September 3rd and 4th). It became necessary to avenge this violation of the law of nations, and an army of retribution under General Sir Frederick Roberts advanced towards Kabul on the 6th of September, defeated the Afghans at Charaziab on the 6th of October, and entered the capital on the 12th. The Bala Hissar, including the fort and palace, was partially destroyed. On the 19th, the Amir, Yakub, who was suspected of complicity in the murder of the Resident, abdicated, and was removed to India. Severe fighting in and around Kabul, where Sir Frederick Roberts ruled with a firm hand, was prolonged from the 11th to the 14th of December, when the general concentrated his forces in the Shirpur cantonments, which he strengthened against attack. On the 24th the enemy retired from Kabul, which, on the 26th, was re-occupied by the British, and General Sir Donald Stewart, commander-in-chief of the army in India, assumed the supreme authority.

The events we are now about to relate belong to the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Ripon, but will be mentioned here in order to complete our account of the "Afghan Question." In July 1880 a column of 2400 men under General Burrows was dispatched from Bombay to occupy Kandahar, and on the 27th, at Maiwand, on the river Helmund, about fifty miles from Kandahar, came in collision with the strongly entrenched forces of Ayoub Khan (a son of Yakub Khan), who had assumed the title of Amir. The Afghans numbered about 20,000, and after about four hours' heavy fighting compelled the British to retire, with the loss of nearly half their number in killed, wounded, and missing. This unfortunate result was considered to be partly due to the mismanagement of the British commander, who, after inquiry, was officially censured. Ayoub then advanced upon Kandahar, which was stoutly held by a garrison of 4000 men until relieved by General Sir Frederick Roberts. That able and experienced soldier, as soon as the disaster at Maiwand became known, set out from Kabul on August 9th at the head of a column 10,000 strong,



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and executing a bold and brilliant march of 300 miles across the enemy's country, arrived at Kandahar on the 31st—one of the most daring and successful enterprises recorded in our military history. Rejecting Ayoub Khan's overtures for peace, he attacked him at Muzra on the 1st of September, completely crushing his army, and capturing his guns, stores, and camp. This splendid victory terminated the war. Abdurrahman, son of Afzul, eldest son of Dost Muhammad, was recognised by us as Amir; and the objects of the campaign having been accomplished, our army retired across the Indian frontier. Abdurrahman has proved to be a sagacious, firm, and intrepid ruler as well as a faithful ally, and friendly relations with Afghanistan have since his accession been maintained unbroken. In 1884 a Boundary Commission was appointed, with his consent, to settle, in conjunction with Russian commissioners, the north-western frontier of Afghanistan so far as it is coterminous with the Asiatic territory of Russia. The work of this commission, which was ably directed by Sir West Ridgway, was finally completed on February 4, 1888.

We must not forget, as an episode in the administration of Lord Lytton, the transport of 7000 Indian troops to Malta in April 1878, a dramatic stroke on the part of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry which produced a sensation in 'Great Britain and in Europe generally. At that time a war with Russia was within the bounds of possibility, and Lord Beaconsfield's unexpected *coup de main* was designed to show that the military resources of England were practically inexhaustible. On the 12th of December 1879 the Viceroy, while driving through the streets of Calcutta, was fired at by a half insane and wholly drunken native named Busa, but sustained no injury. In the early spring of 1880 the Beaconsfield Administration, as the result of an appeal to the country, was compelled to resign office, and a cabinet was formed by Mr. Gladstone. As the new Ministry were known to disapprove strongly of the Indian policy of which Lord Lytton had been the exponent, he immediately tendered his resignation, and in May 1880 George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Marquis of Ripon, was installed at Calcutta in the vice-regal chair.

The Marquis of Ripon, 1880-1884.

We have seen that a settlement of the Afghan difficulty was effected in the first year of the new viceroyalty, and during its remaining years, 1881-84, our Indian Empire was happily at peace. Lord Ripon was therefore in a position to devote his attention to the social and economic reforms in which he had always felt an interest, and to project and accomplish measures for the well-being and protection of the masses of the Indian population. All that he did or attempted in this direction was so obviously inspired by a sincere and generous sympathy, that Lord Ripon commanded the affection of the people to an unprecedented degree, as was evidenced by the remarkable fact that on his retirement from office he received upwards of a thousand addresses, couched in terms of the most grateful recognition, from native communities. His action was less favourably regarded, however, by Anglo-Indian society, and a vehement opposition was raised against the Criminal Procedure Bill, introduced into the Legislative Council in 1884, with the Viceroy's sanction, by Mr. Ilbert. Its object was to extend the jurisdiction of the rural criminal courts over Europeans (being British subjects), whether the presiding judges in those courts might be Europeans or natives; in other words, it proposed to confer the same status on a native as on a European judge. The pride of race was aroused by this projected equalisation, and ultimately the Viceroy and his Council accepted a compromise. They maintained the principle in regard to native officials in the superior civil service who had risen to the position of district magistrates and sessional judges, but at the same time they granted to the European community a further extension of trial by jury, by which British subjects could, if they chose, insist on a jury in nearly all cases before the district criminal tribunals.

A Department of Agriculture was one of the administrative creations of Lord Mayo, but under Lord Lytton its work had been divided between the finance and home departments. Lord Ripon reconstituted it as a distinct secretariat of the Government of India, and it now superintends a variety of

important operations bearing on the development of the resources of the country and the welfare of the people, including surveys, emigration, the meteorological bureau, the extension of veterinary science, and the statistics of trade.

An Education Commission was appointed by Lord Ripon for the purpose of extending "popular instruction on a broader basis." After hearing evidence and collecting data throughout the Presidencies and provinces of India, it submitted its report in 1883; and acting on this report, the Governor-General in Council formulated a resolution which, while encouraging all grades of education, provided specially for the advance of primary instruction on a greater equality with the higher education.

By the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act Lord Ripon removed from the native journals the last surviving restrictions on the free expression of native opinion. By his Local Government Acts he developed those municipal institutions which Lord Mayo had done so much to establish and encourage. Extended powers of local self-government were conferred upon urban and rural boards, and the right of election was conferred upon much more numerous classes. Where rural boards did not exist, he utilised the available material in their formation; where they did exist, he placed them on a representative basis and enlarged their range of action. Much more, however, remains to be done in this direction in order that careers of activity and usefulness may be possible for educated and enlightened natives.

The Earl of Dufferin, 1884-1888.

The Marquis of Ripon resigned office in November, and Frederick Temple Hamilton Blackwood, Earl of Dufferin, who had won distinction in important diplomatic missions in the East and as Governor-General of Canada, was installed as his successor on the 13th of December 1884. One of his earliest measures was to pass in the spring of 1885 an important Bengal Treasury Bill which had been drafted by his predecessor. He was next called upon to complete the defensive system of India on the north-west, where, at a cost of nearly £9,000,000, he has made the frontier "almost impregnable;" and carrying out

the policy of maintaining British influence in Afghanistan in a friendly spirit, he granted an interview to the Amir Abdurrahman at Rawul Pindi, the durbar, which was on a magnificent scale of ceremonial, being prolonged from the 2nd to the 12th of April. The result of the conference was to strengthen materially the good understanding already established between that ruler and the Government of India.

During the summer of 1885 the hostile attitude assumed by Thebau, the king of Independent Burma, and his intrigues with the French authorities in Tonquin, could no longer be ignored by the Viceroy, whose remonstrances, though stern and dignified, were contemptuously disregarded, and it became necessary to dispatch a naval and military expedition. Advancing up the Irrawadi valley almost without opposition, it occupied Mandalay, the capital (November 27th). Thebau, one of the worst type of Oriental princes—bloodthirsty, sensual, and treacherous—still continued obstinate and defiant, and applied to various European Powers for assistance against the British. But at length he was forced to acknowledge the power of Britain, surrendered, was dethroned, and deported to India as a state prisoner. On the 1st of January 1886 the authority of the Viceroy was substituted for that of King Thebau by proclamation, and in February Lord Dufferin proceeded to Burma to organise an administration for the rich new province, abounding in all the elements of prosperity, which he had added to the empire.

In 1887 the great princes of India, including the Maharajas Sindhia and Holkar, the Maharaja and Maharanee of Kuch Behar, and the Rao of Kutch, visited London as the guests of the Queen, and took part in the splendid ceremonies of the Jubilee.

GOVERNORS, GOVERNOR-GENERALS, AND VICEROYS OF INDIA.

Governors and Governor-Generals.

1758. Robert Lord Clive.
 1760. Mr. Z. Holwell (provisional).
 1760. Mr. Vansittart.
 1765. Lord Clive (second time).
 1767. Mr. H. Verelst.
 1769. Mr. J. Cartier.
 1772. Warren Hastings, first Governor-General.
 1785. Sir J. Macpherson (prov.).
 1786. Marquis of Cornwallis.
 1793. Sir J. Shore (Lord Teignmouth).
 1798. Sir Alured Clarke (prov.).
 1798. Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley).
 1805. Marquis of Cornwallis (second time).
 1805. Sir George Barlow (prov.).
 1807. Earl of Minto.
 1813. Earl of Moira (Marquis of Hastings).
 1823. Mr. J. Adam (prov.).
 1828. Mr. Butterworth Bayley (prov.).
 1828. Lord William Bentinck.

1835. Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe.
 1836. Earl of Auckland.
 1842. Earl of Ellenborough.
 1844. Viscount Hardinge.
 1848. Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Dalhousie.
 1856. Lord (afterwards Earl) Canning.

Viceroy.

1858. Earl Canning.
 1862. Earl of Elgin.
 1863. Sir R. Napier (Lord Napier of Magdala), (prov.).
 1863. Sir William Denison (prov.).
 1866. Earl of Mayo.
 1872. Sir J. Strachey (prov.).
 1872. Lord Napier of Ettrick (prov.).
 1872. Earl of Northbrook.
 1876. Earl of Lytton.
 1880. Marquis of Ripon.
 1884. Earl of Dufferin.
 1888. Marquis of Lansdowne.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF BENGAL, GOVERNORS OF BOMBAY,
AND GOVERNORS OF MADRAS.*Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal.*

1854. Sir Frederick Halliday.
 1859. Sir John Peter Grant.
 1862. Sir Cecil Beadon.
 1867. Sir William Grey.
 1871. Sir George Campbell.
 1874. Sir Richard Temple.
 1877. Hon. Sir Ashley Eden.
 1882. Mr. Rivers Thompson.
 1887. Sir S. C. Bayley.

Governors of Bombay.

1853. Lord Elphinstone.
 1860. Sir G. R. Clerk.
 1862. Sir H. Bartle Frere.

1867. Sir W. R. Seymour Fitzgerald.
 1872. Sir P. Wodehouse.
 1877. Sir R. Temple.
 1880. Sir J. Fergusson.
 1884. Lord Reay.

Governors of Madras.

1653. Mr. Aaron Baker.
 1659. Sir Thomas Chambers.
 1661. Sir Edward Winter.
 1668. Mr. George Foxcroft.
 1670. Sir W. Langhom.
 1678. Mr. Streynsham Master.
 1681. Mr. William Gyfford.
 1687. Mr. Elihu Yale.
 1692. Mr. Nathaniel Higginson.

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| 1698. Mr. Thomas Pitt. | 1794. Lord Hobart. |
| 1709. Mr. Galston Addison. | 1798. Lieutenant-General G. Harris. |
| 1711. Mr. Edward Harrison. | 1803. Lord Clive. |
| 1717. Mr. Joseph Collet. | 1807. Lord W. Bentinck. |
| 1721. Mr. Nathaniel Elwich. | 1813. Sir G. Hilair Barlow, K.B. |
| 1725. Mr. James Macrae. | 1814. Lieutenant-General Hon. J. Abercromby. |
| 1730. Mr. G. Morton Pitt. | 1820. Right Hon. Hugh Elliot. |
| 1735. Mr. R. Buryon. | 1827. Sir T. Munro. |
| 1743. Mr. Nicholas Morse. | 1832. Mr. S. Rumbold Lushington. |
| 1746. Mr. John Hinde. | 1837. Sir J. Adam, K.C.B. |
| 1747. Mr. C. Floyer. | 1842. Lord Elphinstone. |
| 1750. Mr. T. Saunders. | 1848. Sir H. Pottinger, K.C.B. |
| 1755. Mr. G. (afterwards Lord) Pigot. | 1854. Lord Harris. |
| 1763. Mr. Robert Palk. | 1859. Sir C. E. Trevelyan, K.C.B. |
| 1767. Mr. C. Bouchier. | 1860. Sir H. G. Ward, G.C.M.G. |
| 1770. Mr. Josias Du Pré. | 1861. Sir W. T. Dennison, K.C.B. |
| 1773. Mr. Alexander Wynch. | 1866. Lord Napier of Merchiston. |
| 1775. Lord Pigot. | 1872. Lord Hobart. |
| 1776. Mr. George Stratton. | 1875. Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. |
| 1778. Sir T. Rumbold. | 1880. Right Hon. W. Patrick Adam. |
| 1781. Lord Macartney. | 1881. Right Hon. Sir M. E. Grant Duff. |
| 1785. Mr. Alexander Davidson. | 1886. Right Hon. R. Bourke, Baron Connemara. |
| 1786. Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B. | |
| 1790. Major-General Meadows. | |
| 1792. Sir Charles Oakeley. | |

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

i. The *Viceroy* or *Governor-General* is appointed by the Crown, and resides in India. His term of office is five years. Subject to the control of the Secretary of State for India and the advice of his Council, he exercises an almost despotic authority.

ii. His Council has a double character : it is *Executive* and *Legislative*. The *Executive* consists of six members, each of whom takes charge of a department of state, such as War, Finance, Public Works, &c. The *Legislative* includes the members of the Executive, the Governor of the province in which it meets, certain officials selected from the provinces by the Viceroy, and nominated members, representative of the native and European communities. These extra members must not be more than twelve in number. The Legislative Council meets usually once a week, and its meetings are open to the public. All drafts of Bills are published a certain number of times in the *Gazette*.

iii. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and for the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, are also provided with Legislative Councils, their members being appointed by the Governors and Lieutenant-Governor. The Acts of these Councils deal only with provincial matters, and must be approved by the Viceroy.

iv. The two Presidencies and the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal has each its *High Court of Justice* for civil and criminal business, with ultimate appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. The Punjab has a Chief Court, with three judges; the Central Provinces and Oudh, each a single Judicial Commissioner; and British Burma, a Judicial Commissioner and a Recorder. The law administered consists of—(a) the enactments of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils; (β) statutes of the British Parliament which apply to India; (γ) the Hindu and Muhammadan laws of inheritance and their domestic law; and (δ) the customary law affecting particular castes and races.

v. British India is divided into *Provinces*, each with its own government, and certain of the Native States are associated with those Provinces to which they are related geographically. The Governors of Madras and Bombay are appointed by the Crown, and have each an army and civil service of their own. Bengal has a Lieutenant-Governor.

vi. Each Province is divided into *Districts* (corresponding to our counties), which form the units of administration. At the head of each District is placed an executive official (who may be either a civilian or a military officer), with the title of (in the "Regulation" or older Provinces) *Collector-Magistrate* or (in the Non-Regulation) of a *Deputy-Commissioner*. Upon the energy, discretion, and personal character of this official depends the ultimate efficiency of our Indian Government. "His own special duties are so numerous and so various as to bewilder the outsider; and the work of his subordinates, European and native, largely depends upon the stimulus of his personal example. His position has been compared to that of the French *préfet*, but such a comparison is unjust in many ways to the Indian District officer. He is not a mere subordinate of a central bureau, who takes his colour from his chief, and represents the political parties or the permanent officialism of the capital. The Indian Collector is a strongly individualised worker in every department of rural well-being, with a large measure of local independence and of individual initiative. As the name of Collector-Magistrate implies, his main functions are twofold. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he is also a revenue and criminal judge, both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his smaller local sphere all that the Home Secretary superintends in England, and a great deal more, for he is the representative of a paternal and not of a constitutional government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation, and the imperial revenues of his district are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives, and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountant, a surveyor, and a ready writer of state papers. He ought also to possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy, and engineering."

There are about 235 Districts in British India, differing widely in area

and population. The average area is 3840 square miles, ranging from 14,115 square miles in Sind to 937 square miles in the North-Western Provinces. The average population is 800,723 souls, ranging from 3,051,916 in Bengal to 91,034 in Madras. In every other province but Madras the Districts are grouped into larger areas, known as Divisions, each under the charge of a Commissioner. "But these Divisions are not properly units of administration, as the Districts are. They are aggregates of units, formed only for convenience of supervision, so that an intermediate authority may exercise the universal watchfulness which would be impossible for a distant Lieutenant-Governor."

The Districts are subdivided into smaller sections, called Sub-Divisions in Bengal, *taluks* in Madras and Bombay, and *tahsils* in Northern India generally. These Sub-Districts form the primary units of fiscal administration. The *tháná*, or police circle, is the unit of police administration over the whole of British India.

Reference must also be made to the Secretariat, or "central bureau," of each Province, which gives unity and cohesion to the whole, issuing the orders that regulate or modify the details of administration, collecting, tabulating, and analysing the reports sent in by the different local officers. The Secretariat of the Supreme Government consists of nine members, each of whom takes charge of a special department of the administration. They are the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary, the Secretary for Revenue and Agriculture, the Financial Secretary, the Military Secretary, the Public Works Secretary, and the Secretary in the Legislative Department. In the Presidencies, Lieutenant-Governorships, and Chief Commissionerships, the Provincial Secretariat is arranged on the same footing, but the Secretaries are only from one to three or four in number.

STATISTICAL.

Area and Population.—The first general census of the population of British India was taken in 1868 and following years, but, owing to various circumstances, was neither complete nor accurate. It recorded the population as 185,537,859, living on an area of 868,244 English square miles. At the first synchronous enumeration, February 17, 1881, the result was 198,755,993 souls, an apparent increase of 13,252,994; but no doubt this increase was partly due to more accurate registration. The following table presents a summary of the returns for 1881:—

Presidencies, Provinces, and Divisions.	No. of Districts.	Area in Eng. sq. miles.	No. of Towns and Villages.	Population, 1881.
Gov.-General of India:—				
Ajmere	2	2,711	739	460,722
Berar	6	17,711	8,585	2,672,673
Coorg	1	1,583	593	178,302
Andaman Islands .	1	880	51	14,628

Presidencies, Provinces, and Divisions.	No. of Districts.	Area in Eng. sq. miles.	No. of Towns and Villages.	Population, 1881.
Burdwan . . .	6	13,855	30,054	7,393,954
Presidency . . .	7	12,029	19,251	8,204,912
Rajshahiye . . .	7	17,428	28,854	7,733,775
Dacca	4	15,000	28,022	8,700,939
Chittagong . . .	4	12,118	11,113	3,574,048
Bengal Proper . .	28	70,430	117,294	35,607,628
Behar :—				
Patna	7	23,647	44,591	15,063,944
Bhaugulpore . . .	5	20,492	32,816	8,063,160
Total Behar . . .	12	44,139	77,407	23,127,104
Orissa	5	9,053	24,894	3,730,735
Chota Nagpore . .	4	26,966	29,111	4,225,989
Sunderbuns	5,976
Total Bengal . . .	49	156,564	248,706	66,691,456
Chief Commissioner, Assam :—				
Surma Valley . . .	2	6,725	9,340	2,258,434
Brahmaputra do. .	7	21,414	10,232	2,249,185
Total Plains Dist. .	9	28,139	19,572	4,507,619
Hill Districts . . .	4	18,202	2,836	373,807
Total Assam . . .	13	46,341	22,408	4,881,426
Lieut. - Gover. N.W. Provinces and Oudh :—				
Meerut	6	11,319	8,274	5,141,204
Agra	6	10,151	8,125	4,834,064
Rohilkund	6	10,885	11,327	5,122,557
Allahabad	6	13,746	11,934	5,754,855
Benares	7	18,338	29,694	9,820,728
Jhansi	3	4,983	2,152	1,000,457
Kumaun	3	12,438	9,578	1,046,263
Lucknow	3	4,504	4,694	2,622,681
Sitapur	3	7,555	5,845	2,777,803
Fyzabad	3	7,311	7,362	3,230,393
Rai Bareilly . . .	3	4,881	6,436	2,756,864
Total N.W. Provinces and Oudh .	49	106,111	105,421	44,107,869

Of this vast population, 187,937,450 were Hindus, 50,120,585 Muhammadans, 3,418,884 Buddhists, 1,862,634 Christians, 1,853,426 Sikhs, and the remainder Jains, Parsis, Jews, and unclassified. The British-born population, exclusive of the army, numbered 77,188 males and 12,610 females.

There are in India 60 towns with upwards of 50,000 inhabitants. Of these, 21 exceed 100,000; 5 exceed 200,000 (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Haidarabad, and Lucknow). In 1887 the total number of schools and colleges was 122,643, with 3,339,061 pupils, of whom 212,428 were girls. Total annual expenditure on education, £2,424,396.

The total annual value of the imports of India may be estimated at £66,000,000, and the exports at £84,000,000.

The principal railways are:—The Great Indian Peninsula; the Madras; the Oudh and Rohilkhand; the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India; the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi; the South Indian; and the Eastern Bengal. These are guaranteed. There are also assisted railways, state imperial, state provincial, and railways in native states. The total mileage is about 12,655 miles.

There are nearly 14,000 post-offices and letter-boxes; and the number of letters, newspapers, &c., carried annually is nearly 200,000,000. The electric telegraph wires have a total length of 62,830 miles (in 1883).

Indian Money.—A pie = $\frac{1}{2}$ -farthing; 3 pie or 1 pice = $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthing; 4 pice = 1 anna = $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; 16 annas = 1 rupee = 2s.; 15 rupees = 1 gold mohur = £1, 10s. But the relative value of the money of England and India varies with the price of silver, so that a rupee has been worth as much as 2s. 2d., and is now worth only 1s. 5d. A sum of 100,000 rupees is called a "lakh," and 100 lakhs make one "crore."

The annual revenue of India may be estimated (in round numbers) at £71,000,000, raised chiefly upon the land (£21,500,000), opium (£9,500,000), and salt (£6,500,000). The annual expenditure may be put at £70,000,000, but is continually exceeded by extra war charges. The total debt of India is £174,524,101.

The total strength of the European and native army, exclusive of native artificers and followers, may be computed (in round numbers) at 191,000, of whom 62,500 are British troops (12,300 artillery, 4500 cavalry, 440 Royal Engineers, and 45,260 infantry). Returns published in 1884 show that the various Hindu feudatory or independent states of India maintained armies, numbering 275,075 men and 3372 guns; the Muhammadan states, 74,760 men and 865 guns;—total, 349,835 men and 4237 guns.

In 1870 was established the *National Indian Association* for the promotion of social progress and education in India, and for the extension of friendly intercourse between the British and the Indian peoples. An important movement, under its auspices, is being carried on with unexpected success for the employment of medical women. This is also one of the objects of the *Zenana Bible and Medical Mission* (the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society). The work to be accomplished in this direction may be estimated from the fact that something like 4,000,000 women in India are shut up in zenanas, and can be reached only through female agents.

The loyalty of the great *Indian Princes* has recently been shown in a very striking manner by their munificent offers of men and money for the defence of the Imperial frontier. The first who came forward was the most powerful of the Muhammadan princes, the Nizam of Haidarabad, who promised twenty lakhs of rupees annually for three years. His example has been largely followed, the total amount of money offered amounting to 10,380,000 rupees (about £750,000).

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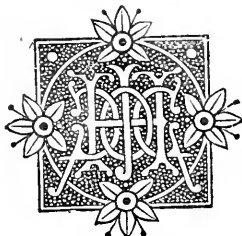
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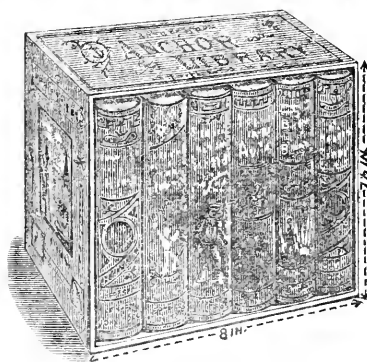
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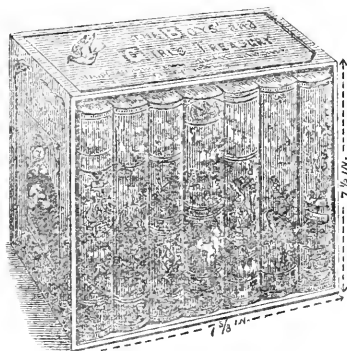
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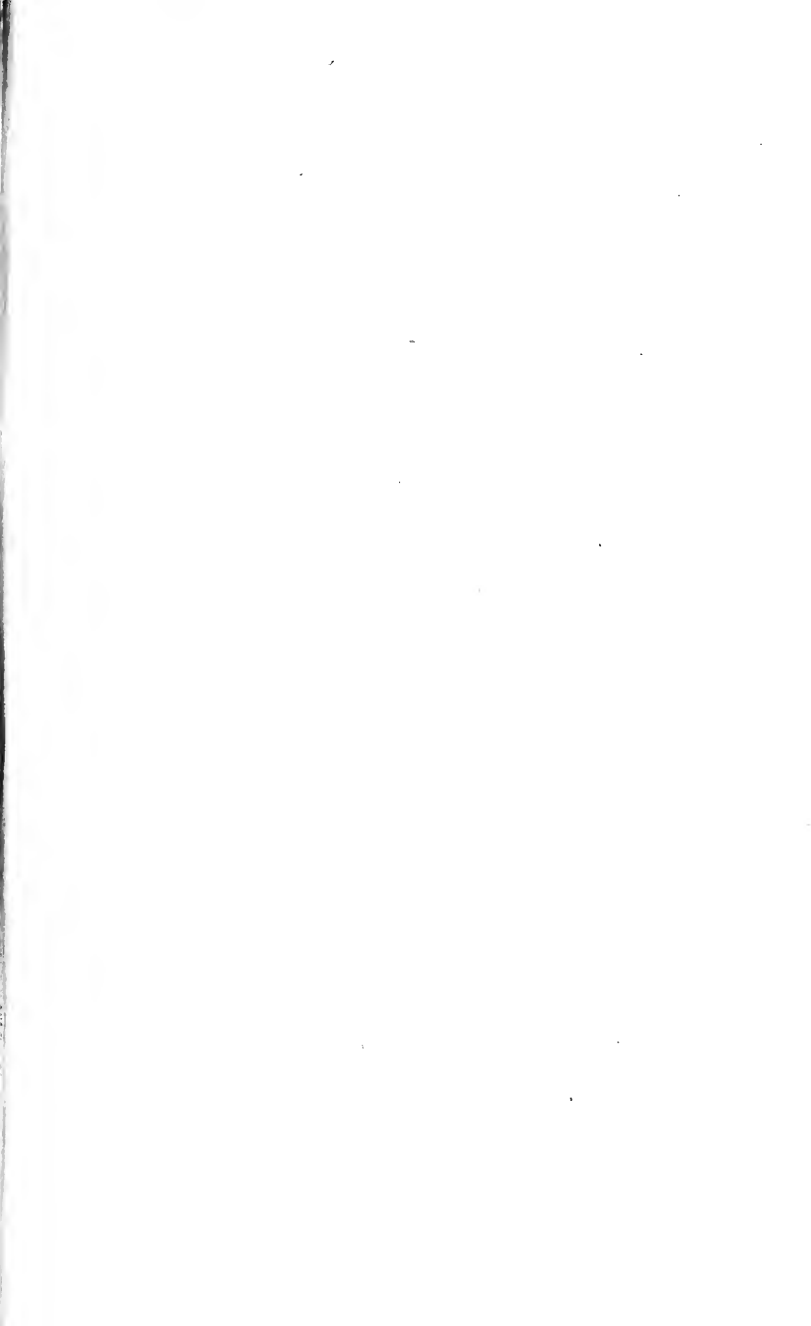
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